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ART. I.—LIFE AND WRITINGS OF ANDREW
FULLER.

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The Complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller: with a Memoir of his Life by Andrew Gunton Fuller. Reprinted from the third London edition. Revised, with additions, by JOSEPH BELCHER, D. D. In three volumes. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society.

IT is sad to think to how little purpose the great mass of human beings live. Let them be born where they may, and in whatever circumstances, they fall directly into the current which chances to set around them, thinking as others think, doing as others do, and accomplishing comparatively little, whether of good or of evil. And when they die, the letters on their tombstones, or the common places of some short obituary, record all that will ever be known respecting them. They leave no mark upon the scroll of time, no ripple upon the current down which they have passed; and to all human appearance, the world is as though they had never been.

But there is another class, much fewer in number, but of greater power, the issues of whose existence are very different. Live where they may, and under whatever circumstances, they leave their mark upon their age. The world knows that they are in it, and will know that they have been in it, long after they have passed away. Whether raised up for evil or for good, to be public scourges or blessings, they do a

great work, and rush on to their destiny with a high hand. It would be easy to refer to multitudes, the *evil* of whose deeds lives after them, and will live, when all else pertaining to them shall have passed away. But it is a more grateful labor, and one better comporting with our present design, to speak of those who have been blessings to the world; who, instead of falling in with the downward current of their times, have given it a new and better direction, of whom it may be pre-eminently said, that they have died in the Lord, and their good works follow them. Such were Moses, and Samuel, and David, and Nehemiah, under the former dispensation. Such were Peter, and Paul, and John, among the early followers of Christ. Such, in later ages, were Augustine, and Luther, and Calvin, and Baxter, and Jonathan Edwards. In the same class, and at scarcely a lower standing in it, we place the venerable man whose memoir and works are now before us. In one respect, the case of Andrew Fuller is more remarkable than that of almost any uninspired man whatever. Without the advantages of early education, almost without teachers or books, by the mere force of his own genius, by the indomitable energies of a vigorous, perspicacious mind, and a sanctified heart, he conquered the difficulties which at first beset him, and rose to a degree of influence, and accomplished an amount of good, which was exceeded by none of his contemporaries.

Andrew Fuller was born on the 6th of February, 1754, at Wicken, a small village in Cambridgeshire, England, where his paternal ancestors had resided for several generations. His father rented a small farm, and his son assisted him in cultivating it, until he was nineteen years of age. During the latter part of this period, he was the subject of frequent and deep religious impressions. At one time, he thought himself converted; and as the delusion under which he labored was a common one, it may be proper to describe it in his own words:

“One morning, I think about the year 1767, as I was walking alone, I began to think seriously what would become of my poor soul, and was deeply affected in thinking of my condition. I felt that I was the slave of sin, and that it had such power over me, that it was in vain for me to think of extricating myself from its thraldom. Till now, I did not know but that I could repent at any time; but now I perceived that my heart was wicked, and that it was not in me to turn to God, or to break off my sins by righteousness. I saw that if God would forgive me all the past, and offer me the kingdom of heaven, on condition of giving up my wicked pursuits, I should not accept it. This conviction was accompanied with great depression of heart. I walked sorrowfully along, repeating these words:—iniquity will be my ruin!—iniquity

will be my ruin ! While poring over my unhappy case, those words of the apostle suddenly occurred to my mind : 'Sin shall not have dominion over you, for ye are not under the law, but under grace.' Now the suggestion of a text of Scripture to the mind, especially if it came with power, was generally considered by the religious people, with whom I occasionally associated, as a promise coming immediately from God. I therefore so understood it, and thought that God had thus revealed to me that I was in a state of salvation, and therefore that iniquity should not, as I had feared, be my ruin. The effect was, I was overcome with joy and transport. I shed, I suppose, thousands of tears as I walked along, and seemed to feel myself, as it were, in a new world. It appeared to me that I hated my sins, and was resolved to forsake them. Thinking on my wicked courses, I remember using those words of Paul: 'Shall I continue in sin, that grace may abound ? God forbid !' I felt, or seemed to feel, the strongest indignation at the thought. But, strange as it may appear, though my face that morning was, I believe, swollen with weeping, yet before night all was gone and forgotten, and I returned to my former vices with as eager a gust as ever. Nor do I remember that for more than half a year afterwards, I had any serious thoughts about the salvation of my soul. I lived entirely without prayer, and was wedded to my sins, just the same as before, or rather was increasingly attached to them.

"Sometime in the following year I was again walking by myself, and began to reflect upon my course of life, particularly upon my former hopes and affections, and how I had since forgotten them all, and returned to all my wicked ways. Instead of sin having no more dominion over me, I perceived that its dominion had been increased. Yet I still thought that must have been a promise from God to me, and that I must have been a converted person, but in a backsliding state; and this persuasion was confirmed by another sudden impression, which dispelled my dejection, in these words: 'I have blotted out as a thick cloud thy transgressions, and as a cloud thy sins.' This, like the former, overcame my mind with joy. I wept much at the thoughts of having backslidden so long, but yet considered myself now as restored and happy. But this also was mere transient affection. I have great reason to think that the great deep of my heart's depravity had not yet been broken up, and that all my religion was without any abiding principle."—Vol. i. pp. 3, 4.

The devil can quote and impress Scripture, when it suits his purpose. He once attempted this artifice upon our blessed Saviour. "He shall give his angels charge concerning thee, and in their hands they shall bear thee up, lest thou dash thy foot against a stone." There is no more effectual means of destruction than a perverted, misapplied passage of Scripture.

About two years after this, the attention of Mr. Fuller was again arrested, and his impressions now issued in a saving change. The account which he gives of his conversion is eminently instructive and satisfactory ; and though the passage is somewhat long, and has been often quoted, we cannot forbear giving it again. In these days of shallow impressions and slender conversions, it may be well to look at one of the old genuine stamp :

"One morning, I think in November, 1769, I walked out by myself with an unusual load of guilt upon my conscience. The remembrance of my sin, not only on the past evening, but for a long time back, the breach of my vows, and the shocking termination of my former hopes and affections, all uniting together, formed a burden which I knew not how to bear. The reproaches of a guilty conscience seemed like the gnawing worm of hell. I thought surely that must be an earnest of hell itself. The fire and brimstone of the bottomless pit seemed to burn within my bosom. I do not write in the language of exaggeration. I now know that the sense which I then had of the evil of sin, and the wrath of God, was very far short of the truth; but yet it seemed more than I was able to sustain. In reflecting upon my broken vows, I saw that there was no truth in me. I saw that God would be perfectly just in sending me to hell; and that to hell I must go, unless I were saved of mere grace, and, as it were, in spite of myself. I felt that, if God were to forgive me all my past sins, I should again destroy my soul, and that in less than a day's time. I never before knew what it was to feel myself an odious, lost sinner, standing in need of both pardon and purification. Yet, though I needed these blessings, it seemed presumption to hope for them, after what I had done. I was absolutely helpless, and seemed to have nothing about me that ought to excite the pity of God, or that I could reasonably expect should do so; but every thing disgusting to him, and provoking to the eyes of his glory. 'What have I done?—What must I do?' These were my inquiries, perhaps ten times over. Indeed, I knew not what to do! I durst not promise amendment, for I saw that such promises were self-deception. To hope for forgiveness in the course that I was in, was the height of presumption; and to think of Christ, after having so basely abused his grace, seemed too much. So I had no refuge."—Vol. i. pp. 4, 5.

"It is difficult, at this distance of time, to recollect with precision the minute workings of my mind; but as near as I can remember, I was like a man drowning, looking every way for help, or rather catching for something by which he might save his life. I tried to find whether there were any hope in the divine mercy—any in the Saviour of sinners; but felt repulsed by the thought of mercy having been so basely abused already. In this state of mind, as I was moving slowly on, I thought of the resolution of Job: 'Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him!' I paused, and repeated the words over and over. Each repetition seemed to kindle a ray of hope, mixed with a determination, if I might, to cast my perishing soul upon the Lord Jesus Christ for salvation, to be both pardoned and purified; for I felt that I needed the one as much as the other."—Vol. i. p. 5.

"On a review of my resolution at that time, it seemed to resemble that of Esther, who went into the king's presence contrary to the law, and at the hazard of her life. Like her, I seemed reduced to extremities, impelled by dire necessity to run all hazards, even though I should perish in the attempt. Yet it was not altogether from a dread of wrath that I fled to this refuge; for I well remember that I felt something attracting in the Saviour: I must—I will—yes, I will trust my soul—my sinful, lost soul, in his hands. If I perish, I perish. However it was, I was determined to cast myself upon Christ, thinking, peradventure, he would save my soul; and, if not, I could but be lost. In this way I continued above an hour, weeping, and supplicating mercy for the Saviour's sake: (my soul hath it still in remembrance, and is humbled in me:) and, as the eye of the mind was more and more fixed upon him, my guilt and fears were gradually and insensibly removed. I now found rest for my troubled soul."—Vol. i. p. 5.

"From this time, my former wicked courses were forsaken. I had no manner of desire after them. They lost their influence upon me. To those evils, a glance at which before would have set my passions in a flame, I now felt no inclination. My soul, said I, with joy and triumph, is as a weaned child! I now knew experimentally what it was to be dead to the world by the cross of Christ, and to feel an habitual determination to devote my future life to God my Saviour."—Vol. i. p. 6.

But although Mr. Fuller was now thoroughly converted, his probation was not finished. He was still exposed to temptations and trials. He was particularly tried by his youthful associates, and had strong temptations to return to them, and to his former courses of sin. And the manner in which he escaped these temptations is worthy the notice of all young Christians: "Whenever a feast or holiday occurred, instead of sitting at home by myself, I went to a neighboring village to visit some Christian friends, and returned when all was over. By this step, I was delivered from those mental participations in folly which had given me so much uneasiness. Thus, the seasons of temptation became to me times of refreshing from the presence of the Lord."

In the spring of 1770, Mr. Fuller was baptized, and received to the church in Soham, under the pastoral care of the Rev. John Eve.* The following summer he describes as one of great religious enjoyment: "I loved my pastor and all my brethren in the Church, and they expressed a great affection towards me. I esteemed the righteous as the excellent of the earth, in whom was all my delight." But in the autumn of this year, an event occurred, which, as it not only occasioned the dismission of the pastor, but had an important bearing on the opinions and standing of Mr. F., we shall proceed to relate in his own words:

"One of the members having been guilty of drinking to excess, I was one of the first who knew of it. I immediately went and talked to him, as well as I could, on the evil of his conduct. His answer was, 'He could not keep himself: and that though I bore so hard on him, I was not my own keeper.' At this I felt indignant, considering it as a base excuse. I therefore told him that he *could* keep himself from such sins as these, and that his way of talking was merely to excuse what was inexcusable. I knew not what else to say at that time; yet the idea of arrogating to be my own keeper seemed too much. He, however, was offended, and told me that I was young, and did not know the deceitfulness of my own heart. Well, I went and told my pastor, who highly commended me, and said: 'We certainly could keep ourselves from open sins. We had no power,' he observed, 'to do things spiritually good; but, as to outward acts, we had power both to obey the will of God, and disobey it.'—Vol. i. p. 8.

* Mr. Adam was pastor of the Independent Church in the same place.—*Adam and Eve!*

This question as to the ability of the Christian to keep himself from open sins, was long and hotly contested in the church. The discussion of it led to the dismission of Mr. Eve; and led Mr. Fuller to an understanding of the distinction between natural and moral ability and inability, which he has so fully illustrated in his works. He says himself: "These unpleasant disputes were a means of leading my mind into those views of divine truth which have since appeared in the principal part of my writings." Among the books which he read at this period, was Edwards' Treatise on the Will, which he represents as affording him great satisfaction.

It was while the church at Soham was destitute of a pastor, that Mr. Fuller, at the request of his brethren, commenced expounding the Scriptures to them on the Sabbath. These exercises were blessed to the conversion of souls; and early in the year 1774, he was called to engage more formally and publicly in the work of the ministry. In the summer of the next year he was ordained pastor of the church at Soham, and his acquaintance commenced with Rev. Robert Hall, of Arnsby, (father of the more celebrated Robert Hall, of Bristol,) with Mr. Sutcliff, of Olney, and Mr. John Ryland, jr., then of Northampton, who were ever after his most faithful friends.

The Particular Baptists of England were, at this period, (as Mr. Fuller expresses it,) *hyper-Calvinistic*. They went as far above or beyond genuine Calvinism, as Arminianism falls below it. With their views of inability, they could not admit that any spiritual duties were at all binding upon the unregenerate, or that any directions or exhortations should be addressed to them, except what related to outward obedience. "Outward services might be required, such as an attendance on the means of grace; and abstinence from gross evils might be enforced; but nothing was said to the impenitent in the pulpit, in the way of warning them to flee from the wrath to come, or inviting them to apply to Christ for salvation."

Mr. Fuller commenced preaching in this way; for, young and inexperienced as he then was, he dared not preach in any other. And, though he very soon began to entertain doubts whether this was the true, apostolic method, yet he could not think of abandoning it hastily. "I moved on," says he, "with trembling steps. Having to grope my way out of a labyrinth, it was a long time ere I felt satisfied." In this labor, Mr. F. was materially assisted by his ministerial brethren above named; and they were all more or less assisted by the writings of the New-England divines, such as Edwards, Bellamy, Brainerd, &c.

Mr. F. continued with the church in Soham seven years, during which time he labored with good success, though in the midst of many trials and temptations, by which his Master was preparing him for greater usefulness.

From Soham Mr. Fuller removed to Kettering, in October, 1782, though he was not formally settled until the following year. The principal causes of his removal were the inadequacy of his support, and the disaffection of a portion of the church with his manner of presenting the calls of the gospel. He had come to feel it his duty to urge these solemn calls indiscriminately; to exhort sinners around him to repent, and turn to God, and bring forth fruits meet for repentance. Still, his removal was not effected without a long correspondence, and much counsel; without inward struggles, and prayers, and tears. "Men who fear not God," says Dr. Ryland, "would risk the welfare of a nation with fewer searchings of heart, than it cost him to determine whether he should leave a little dissenting church, which contained scarcely forty members besides himself and his wife."

To the council which settled Mr. Fuller at Kettering, he exhibited a very full confession of his faith; from which it appears that his views on several subjects were materially changed. On the distinction between natural and moral ability and inability, on the obligation of sinners to obey the law of God and embrace the gospel, and on the duty of ministers to enforce such obligations upon them, he now expressed himself as follows: "I believe that men are now born and grow up with a vile propensity to moral evil, and that herein lies their *inability* to keep God's law, which is a *moral and criminal inability*. Were they but of a right disposition, there is nothing in the law of God which they could not perform; but being wholly under the dominion of sin, they have no heart remaining for God, but are full of wicked aversion to him." "I believe that such is the excellency of the way of salvation, that every one who hears, or has opportunity to hear it proclaimed in the gospel, is *bound* to repent of his sin, believe, approve and embrace it with all his heart; to reject all pretensions to life in any other way; and to cast himself upon Christ, that he may be saved in this way of God's devising; yet I believe that the pride, ignorance, enmity, and love to sin in men are such, that they will not come to Christ for life, but in spite of all the divine calls and threatenings, will go on till they sink into eternal perdition. Hence arises the necessity of an almighty work of God, the Spirit, to new-model the whole soul, to form in us new principles or dispo-

sitions, or, as the Scriptures express it, to give us a new heart and a new spirit." "I believe it is the duty of every minister of Christ plainly and faithfully to preach the gospel to all who will hear it, and that the solemn calls and warnings of the gospel are directly adapted, as a means in the hand of the Spirit, to bring men to Christ. I consider such preaching to be a part of my duty, which I could not neglect, without being guilty of the blood of souls."

From these declarations of his faith, it will be seen how much progress Mr. Fuller had already made in the knowledge of divine truth. He had wholly adopted the distinctions and explanations of the New-England theologians, thus showing that he had not studied them in vain. He had thrown off the shackles of an antinomian Calvinism, and embraced those clear views of the way of salvation which it was the business of his life afterwards to inculcate and enforce.

The charge which Mr. Fuller assumed at Kettering was much larger and more responsible than that which he had left. He entered upon it with energy and zeal, and continued in it to the day of his death—a period of more than thirty years. During the last half of his ministry, his pastoral labors were greatly interrupted by duties of a more public nature; still, he did what he could for the people of his charge, and more than, under the circumstances, could have been reasonably expected. He was ever regarded as not only an able, but a faithful and successful pastor.

The following facts will show the interest which he took in his people, and his more private methods of laboring for their salvation. He early furnished himself with a list—which he corrected from time to time—of all the families connected with his meeting, including not only the names, but a short account of each member. He had another list of those in the congregation whom he thought to be serious, or under concern for their souls. These were the guides by which he regulated his pastoral visits, his conversation, his preaching, his prayers.

His congregation consisted, ordinarily, of about one thousand, nearly a fifth of whom were members of his church. He was favored with several seasons of special religious interest, which in this country would be called revivals of religion. Writing to Dr. Ryland in 1810, he says: "There appears to be so much of an earnest inquiry after salvation among our young people, that I feel it necessary to be absent from them as short a time as possible. We have a weekly meeting in the vestry for all who choose to come for conver-

sation. Our Monday and Friday night meetings are much thronged. The discourses in the latter have been mostly addressed to those who have some concern about their salvation."

It was Mr. Fuller's custom, for many years, to expound a portion of Scripture every Lord's day morning. In this way, he went through Genesis, Job, the Psalms, the Proverbs, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and most of the minor prophets. He also expounded Matthew, Luke, John, the Acts of the Apostles, Romans, a part of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, and the Revelation. His expositions of Genesis and the Revelation were published near the close of life, and now appear among his works. Respecting this habit of expository preaching, he thus writes to a young minister :

"I have found it not a little useful, both to myself and to the people, to appropriate one part of every Lord's Day to the exposition of a chapter, or part of a chapter, in the sacred writings. In this way, during the last eighteen years, I have gone over the greater part of the Old Testament, and some books in the New. It is advantageous to a minister to feel himself necessitated, as it were, to understand every part of Scripture, in order to explain it to the people. It is also advantageous to a people that what they hear should come directly from the word of God, and that they should be led to see the scope and connection of the sacred writers. For want of this, a great number of Scripture passages are misunderstood and misapplied. In going over a book, I have frequently been struck with surprise in meeting with texts which, as they had always occurred to me, I had understood in a sense utterly foreign from what manifestly appeared to be their meaning, when viewed in connection with the context."—Vol. 2, p. 712.

Besides his expositions, Mr. Fuller left skeletons of more than two thousand sermons, in addition to those which had been written out and published. In the exercise of church discipline, he knew how to unite fidelity with tenderness; and in administering the government of the church, after having freely stated his own opinions, he was ready to listen to those of others, and to yield his private judgment in cases where he did not conceive that the cause of righteousness and the honor of religion would be affected.

It was during his residence at Kettering, that Mr. Fuller entered upon his career of usefulness as an author. His first publication (if we except some minor pieces) was his "Gospel Worthy of all Acceptation," which was issued near the close of the year 1784. It had been written several years before, had been often revised and read to others, and was now given to the public with strong misgivings and many fears. Not that he doubted at all the soundness of the positions which he had taken, but he stood in serious doubt of himself—of his

own spirit, and of his ability to state and defend the truth in a proper manner. It seems strange to us that a work such as this could be the occasion of controversy among evangelical Christians. "The Gospel Worthy of all Acceptation!" Why should any believer take exceptions, or entertain doubts concerning this? And yet this excellent treatise involved its author in more controversy than all his other works besides. The hyper-Calvinists attacked him on one side, the Arminians on another, and the Sandemanians on another; some of them with a show of candor and fairness, but others with scurrility and vulgar abuse. With some of his opponents, Mr. Fuller corresponded privately, to others he replied publicly, while others he treated with the contempt they deserved.

The leading sentiment advocated in this work is the *universal obligation of those who hear the gospel to embrace it with a believing heart*—a sentiment at once reasonable and scriptural, and in accordance with the prevailing impressions of Christians in all past time. The principal objections urged against it were based on the purposes of God, the particularity of redemption, and the inability of the sinner to perform anything spiritually good. In his replies, Mr. Fuller insisted that he held these doctrines as firmly as his opponents; yet not in such a way as to conflict with the universal calls and obligations of the gospel. As to the inability of the sinner, he made the same distinction between a natural and moral inability which is commonly insisted on at the present day. The inability of the sinner to receive the gospel consists, he said, "In an unwillingness so inveterate, as to require a divine influence to overcome it; and which, so far from excusing continued impenitence, is itself an aggravation of the evil." Any other inability, he insisted, "would justify the highest degree of moral delinquency, would set aside the law of God, and exculpate men entirely from the imputation of sin."

This controversy, in all its bearings and relations, occupied no small share of Mr. Fuller's attention for twenty years; and let no one say that his time and pen might have been better employed, until he has considered well the state of things in England at the period when the controversy commenced, and the indebtedness of Christians, the world over, to his untiring exertions in this matter. There is enough of antinomianism and infidelity in the world now; but what had been the state of things had not God raised up an Edwards in this country, and a Fuller in England, to expose a pretended, vaunting Calvinism, which was as far from the genuine as it was from the Bible and common sense; which was cutting the cords of

human obligation, blunting the edge of the sword of the Spirit, and robbing the gospel of its power; which was puffing up those who adhered to it with spiritual pride, and repelling others to a fatal rejection of the truth. There is a prejudice in the minds of many persons against controversy. They mourn over the dissensions of Christians, and think it better to pursue the things which make for peace. And certainly no one ought to desire controversy, or to engage in it, for its own sake. Yet, there are circumstances in which controversy is as much a duty as prayer or praise; and no men deserve better of the church, however little of its favor or sympathy they may receive, than those who, at the proper times, and in the proper spirit and manner, contend earnestly for the faith. Think of the controversies of Paul with the Judaizers, and of Athanasius with the Arians, and of Augustine with the Pelagians, and of Luther with the Papists, and of our blessed Lord with the Scribes and Pharisees; and say if religious controversy has done nothing for the world; say, if those who have engaged in it faithfully and successfully, should not be held in honorable and grateful remembrance.

Mr. Fuller's next work of importance was his "Calvinistic and Socinian Systems Compared as to their Moral Tendencies." The Unitarians had been declaiming then, as they do now, upon the licentious tendency of Calvinistic doctrines, charging upon them no small part of the evils existing in the world. In reply, Mr. Fuller aims at something more than mere self-defence. He carries the war into their own camp. He shows, not only from the facts of history, but from the concessions of Unitarians themselves, that the most virtuous communities have been the most generally Calvinistic, and that Unitarians, from some cause, have been sadly deficient in most of those qualities which go to constitute a truly religious life.

This publication was received with general approbation; so much so, that the author seems to have feared as to the effect of it upon his own heart. "God has tried me within the last two or three years with heavy and sore afflictions; but of late my trials have been of another kind. My Letters on Socinianism have been followed by an unusual tide of respect and applause. Some years ago I endured reproach for what I had written against false Calvinism—now I am likely to be tried with the contrary; and perhaps good report, though more agreeable, may prove not less injurious than evil report. I am apprehensive that God sees my heart to be too much elated already."

Notwithstanding the acknowledgment of several leading Unitarians that this publication demanded their attention, it was not till after some three years that any answer at all was given to it. It was then replied to by Dr. Toulmin and Mr. Kentish. The ground taken by the former in his Reply is certainly a very singular one. *Assuming* that the apostles and primitive Christians were all of them Unitarians, he argues the high practical tendencies of Unitarianism from the good effects of their preaching and labors. A more palpable beginning of the question was, perhaps, never perpetrated. In his rejoinder, Mr. Fuller exposes the miserable sophistry, and establishes, by new arguments, the positions which he had before taken. Our author's writings on this subject have been of eminent service to the cause of truth now for almost sixty years; and they will continue to be so as long as Unitarian errors are permitted to have an existence in the world.

In the year 1800, when infidelity was vaunting itself in Europe, and threatening to upturn the foundations of all religion, Mr. Fuller undertook the defence of Christianity. He had before contended for some of the essential doctrines of the gospel; he now felt himself called upon to vindicate the gospel itself. He gave to the world that important work, entitled "The Gospel its own Witness; or the Holy Nature and Divine Harmony of the Christian Religion, contrasted with the Immorality and Absurdity of Deism." As might be expected from the title, the author dwells almost exclusively on the *internal* evidences of Christianity; on the character of God as there unfolded; on the standard of morals there exhibited; on the motives which the Bible furnishes to a holy life; and on its happy results to individuals, communities and nations. On all these points, Christianity is set in strong contrast with Deism, presenting the former in heavenly attractiveness and beauty, and exhibiting the latter in its inherent nakedness and deformity. We know not where to look for a defence of Christianity, on the ground of its own internal evidences, so convincing and satisfactory as this. In comparison with it, the more celebrated little work of Soame Jenyns is feebleness itself.

This publication, like that last mentioned, contributed to make its author known, and secured him many friends. In a letter to Dr. Ryland, Mr. Wilberforce speaks of it in the highest terms, declaring that particular portions of it "are enough to warm the coldest heart."

Before this time, the writings of Fuller had been reprinted and extensively circulated in America. They were as well

known in this country as in England, and we have reason to suppose were more generally studied and appreciated. In evidence of this we need only state, that the degree of doctor of divinity was successively tendered to him by two of our most respectable colleges: that at Princeton in 1798, and that at New-Haven in 1805. These honors he thought it his duty respectfully to decline; because, says he, "I could not reconcile it to my judgment and feelings to make use of such a title of distinction from any quarter."

It was in the year 1802, that Mr. Fuller published his "Letters on the Doctrine of Universal Salvation." The scheme of Universalism here opposed is that of Winchester and his followers, commonly called *universal restoration*. Mr. Winchester was for several years a Baptist minister, of the straitest Calvinistic stamp. In his apostacy from the evangelical faith, he was followed by a few of his brethren, not only in this country, but in England.* To one of these men—a Mr. Vidler, once pastor of a Baptist church in the county of Sussex—the letters of Mr. Fuller were addressed. These letters would possess a more general interest, if they were not so directly and personally controversial. They cannot be numbered among the more elaborate performances of their author; and yet they contributed to settle and establish the faith of the gospel, which had been assailed, and thus accomplished the object for which they were designed. Their results in the Dissenting churches of England were not unlike those which followed the publication of Edwards against Chauncy, in the churches of our own country.

We might here notice, more at length, Mr. Fuller's "Strictures on Sandemanianism," published in 1810, but that they are part of that long controversy, touching the nature of faith, and the sinner's ability and obligation to exercise it, which grew out of his first great effort as an author—his "Gospel worthy of all Acceptation." According to Sandeman, justifying faith is the "bare belief of the bare truth" respecting Christ, unmixed with any feelings of like or dislike; it does not differ in its nature from the faith of devils; and yet, it is in such sense the gift of God, that no one can have it, or is under any obligation to have it, until it is given him. Every one can see how opposite such a doctrine is to that of Fuller; and it is not too much to say, that it scarcely survived Mr. Fuller's searching examination of it. There were a few so-

* Among those few must be reckoned, probably, the celebrated John Foster. He first avowed his renunciation of the doctrine of eternal punishment in 1796; only three years subsequent to the date of Mr. Fuller's first letter to Mr. Vidler. See Life of Foster, vol. i, p. 27.

cieties in Scotland, and in this country, at the commencement of the present century; but it is doubtful whether any of them at present exist.

From the view we have taken thus far of the works of Mr. Fuller, it might be inferred that he was almost exclusively a controversialist; that, like Bellarmine among the Catholics, he was little else than a *malleus magnus hereticorum*. But such a conclusion would be very wide of the truth. By far the greater part of his publications were exegetical, biographical, devotional, or practical. His memoir of Pearce will be read and admired, not only for the rare excellence of its subject, but for the clear and judicious manner in which the work itself is written and compiled, so long as there is intelligent piety on the earth. And the same may be said, though in a lower degree, of the memoir of his old and tried friend, Mr. Sutcliff. Then, there is his invaluable little treatise, entitled "The Backslider," which was circulating in almost all the pious families of New-England, from thirty to forty years ago, and might well be put into like circulation again. Mr. Fuller wrote also on "Spiritual Pride," on "Civil Polity," on "the Conversion of the Jews," on "Heavenly Glory," and on various other practical subjects. Let any one read but the titles of his numerous published sermons, essays, reviews, dialogues, letters, fugitive pieces, and miscellaneous tracts, and he will be astonished that one who wrote so much, and so well, upon doctrinal, practical, and devotional subjects, should have found time to engage in controversy at all.

It follows, from what has been said, that Mr. F. must have been a laborious man. To perform successfully the work of the ministry, and to write and publish so much as he did, during the last thirty years of his life, must have taxed his powers, it would seem, to the highest degree. And yet, we have not yet touched upon what must be regarded as the *great work* of his life, viz: his labors in the cause of missions.

It is interesting to trace the origin of the modern missionary enterprise, which may be said to have commenced with Mr. Fuller and a few of his ministerial friends. As early as the year 1744, a memorial was sent from certain ministers in Scotland to their brethren in America, proposing and urging a quarterly concert of prayer, for the extension of Christ's kingdom in the earth. This concert had already been observed in Scotland, for the space of two years, and evidently grew out of that great revival of religion with which many parts of Scotland, and of the British Provinces in North America,

were at that time favored.* The memorial from Scotland fell into the hands of President Edwards, then of Northampton, who wrote a pamphlet of some hundred and fifty pages, with a view to urge it upon the attention of the churches. By many of the pastors and churches of New-England, the proposition was favorably received, and the quarterly concert was steadily observed, until merged in the monthly concert of the present day. The writer of this can well remember the returns of the old quarterly concert of prayer, while he was yet too young to understand very distinctly the object of it.

About the year 1784, President Edwards' pamphlet fell into the hands of Mr. Fuller and his ministerial brethren, Sutcliff of Olney, and Ryland of Northampton, by whom it was reprinted, and diligently circulated. Mr. F. accompanied it by a short publication of his own, entitled "Persuasives to Extraordinary Union in Prayer, for the Revival of True Religion." Very soon, resolutions were passed by these ministers, and others associated with them, setting apart *the first Monday evening in every month* as a season of prayer, for the universal prevalence and triumph of Christ's kingdom. And here we have the origin of *the present monthly concert of prayer*, which is observed by evangelical Christians of every name, and in every quarter of the world.

As this observance grew out of a missionary spirit, so it tended mightily to foster such a spirit, and to diffuse it. Christians could not long meet and pray for the extension of Christ's kingdom, without trying to *do* something for the extension of that kingdom. And the more they labored in the right spirit to promote it, the more would they be excited to pray.

As these Baptist ministers, Mr. Fuller and his associates, had the honor of originating the monthly concert of prayer, so they had the higher honor of establishing the first Christian mission in modern times, having for its object the conversion of the entire world to Christ. Missions had been earlier established for the benefit of *certain portions* of the heathen world, as the Danish mission at Tranquebar, and the missions of the United Brethren; but as the English Baptists had begun to *pray* in earnest for the conversion of the world to Christ, so they thought it time to begin to labor, having the same great object in view.

The English Baptist Missionary Society was formed at Kettering, in the back parlor of a Mr. Wallis, October 2,

* See Prince's Christian History, and Tracy's Great Awakening.

1792; and the contributions of this meeting amounted only to £13 2s. 6d. Such were the feeble beginnings of this noble society, which was soon followed by others of a kindred spirit and object, whose fame has already filled the world. Their operation, we trust, shall never cease, until "the kingdom, and dominion, and greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High."

As Mr. Fuller had a prime efficiency in the formation of the Baptist Missionary Society, so he was the chief instrument in sustaining and enlarging it. He was its Corresponding Secretary from the first, and for more than twenty years he spared no exertion or sacrifice to promote its interests. The principal labor of writing letters, of selecting, instructing, and sending out missionaries, and of collecting funds, devolved upon him. He made no less than five journeys into Scotland, preaching and taking up collections wherever he went. He also visited Ireland and Wales, and traveled often into various parts of England. The labor of collecting funds for missionary purposes was not systematized in those days as it is now, but everything depended on the personal efforts and applications of the Secretary. And in these efforts—considering the newness of the object, and the prejudices which many persons entertained against it—he was remarkably successful. From some of his preaching tours he returned with not less than ten thousand dollars for the mission.

Nor was this all that Mr. F. was called upon to do, in behalf of his beloved missionary society. He had other labors still more trying and embarrassing. Avowed opposition to the missionary enterprise has now, in a great measure, ceased; but it was not so in the days of Mr. Fuller. In the year 1807, "certain individuals, not content with exciting apprehensions in the minds of the authorities in India, circulated among the proprietors at home, pamphlets of an inflammatory character. These were written by a Mr. Twining, Major Scott Waring, and a Bengal officer, and were followed by the introduction of the subject in a general court of the East India Company's proprietors." Mr. Fuller replied to the injurious pamphlets, and attended the court for the purpose of watching the enemies' proceedings. It is sufficient to say, that their attempts were triumphantly defeated; and when new grounds of assault were taken, these were defeated likewise. An application to the Marquis of Wellesley, who had recently retired from the Presidency in India, secured to the mission his cordial and powerful support. Upon the renewal of the charter of the East

India Company, in the year 1813, Mr. Fuller successfully exerted himself to obtain the insertion of a clause, granting a passage to the missionaries in British vessels, and affording to them that legal protection in India, to which their peaceable conduct, not less than their privileges as British subjects, entitled them. The several pamphlets written by Mr. Fuller during this exciting contest, appear in his works, under the title of "An Apology for the late Christian Missions to India."

It was in labors such as these, in connection with his parochial duties and various publications—labors which no mortal could long sustain unharmed—that Mr. Fuller broke down his naturally robust constitution, and incurred diseases which hurried him to the tomb. The overwhelming pressure of numerous engagements he thus describes to our editor, who had solicited contributions from his pen: "My labors increase without any consent on my part. There are several magazines to which I contribute, for the sake of the mission, and other public interests; and so numerous are the objects that press upon me daily, that my own vineyard, my soul, my family, my congregation, are neglected. Every journey I take only makes way for two or three more; and every book I write only occasions me to write others to explain or defend it. Some are pressing me to write more largely on the mediation of Christ; and others, to review the second edition of Mr. Booth's *Glad Tidings*. My northern correspondents are ever raising objections against my views of faith; all of which I could answer, but cannot get time. Controversies perplex me, and I sit down almost in despair. My wife looks at me, with a tear ready to drop, and says: 'My dear, you have hardly time to speak to me.' My friends at home are kind, but they also say: 'You have no time to see or know us, and you will soon be worn out.' In the midst of all this there is a call: 'Come again to Scotland—Come to Portsmouth—Come to Plymouth—Come to Bristol.' My heart is willing to do every thing you desire, but my hands fail me. Under this complicated load, my heart has often, of late, groaned for rest. I long to finish my days in comparative retirement."

It is not in human nature, as now constituted, to labor as Mr. Fuller did during the last twenty years of his life, and not suffer for it. We are not iron nor marble, but have bodies of flesh and blood; and when the laws of our physical being are violated, the penalty must be paid. In the summer of 1814, Mr. F. had a severe bilious attack, complained much of debility, and began to show symptoms of decay.

Still, he did not relax his labors, but continued them with unabated ardor. It was at this time that he published his "Sermons on Various Subjects," and prepared for the press his "Exposition of the Revelation," and his "Letters on Communion." In the beginning of the year 1815, while in the most depressed state of body and mind, occasioned by a disordered liver, he frequently sat at his desk, as his son informs us, more than twelve hours a day. On the 2d of April, 1815, he preached his last sermon, and presided for the last time at the table of the Lord. His last letter was addressed to his dearest surviving brother in the ministry, Dr. Ryland; and though it has been often printed, we cannot deny our readers the pleasure of perusing it again.

"**MY DEAREST FRIEND,**

"We have enjoyed much together, which, I hope, will prove an earnest of greater enjoyment in another world. We have also wrought together in the Lord's vineyard, and he has given us to reap together in his vintage. I expect this is nearly over; but I trust we shall meet and part no more. I have very little hope of recovery, but I am satisfied to drink of the cup which my Heavenly Father giveth me to drink. Without experience, no one can conceive of the depression of my spirits; yet I have no despondency. 'I know whom I have believed, and that he is able to keep that which I have committed to him against that day.' I am a poor guilty creature, but Christ is an almighty Saviour. I have preached and written much against the abuse of the doctrine of grace, but that doctrine is all my salvation and all my desire. I have no other hope than from salvation—by mere sovereign, efficacious grace, through the atonement of my Lord and Saviour. With this hope, I can go into eternity with composure. Come, Lord Jesus! Come, when thou wilt! Here I am; let him do with me as seemeth him good!

"We have some who have been giving out, of late, that 'If Sutcliff and some others had preached more of Christ, and less of Jonathan Edwards, they would have been more useful.' If those who talked thus, preached Christ half as much as Jonathan Edwards did, and were half as useful as he was, their usefulness would be double what it is. It is very singular that the mission to the East should have originated with men of these principles; and, without pretending to be a prophet, I may say, if ever it falls into the hands of men who talk in this strain, it will soon come to nothing. If I should never see your face in the flesh, I could wish one last testimony of brotherly love, and of the truth of the gospel, to be expressed by your coming over and preaching my funeral sermon, if it can be, from Rom. viii. 10. I can dictate no more, but am

"Ever yours,

"A. F."

A little more than a week from this time, on the Lord's day, while his congregation were engaged in prayer and praise—with his hands clasped, and his eyes fixed upward—Andrew Fuller expired. As he had honored the Lord Jesus Christ in his life, so he was signally supported and comforted in death.

The tendency of his disorder was to dry up his spirits, and yet he complained of no despondency. "My mind is calm," he said; "no raptures—no despondency. I have done a little for God, but all that I have done needs forgiveness. I trust alone in sovereign grace and mercy. I am a poor sinner, but my hope is in the Saviour of sinners. I am not afraid to plunge into eternity."

The funeral of Mr. F. was attended the next week, on Monday, by an immense multitude, whom a veneration for his character and memory had drawn together. Dr. Ryland preached, as he had been requested to do, from Rom. viii. 10, and the Rev. Robert Hall delivered a funeral oration.

In person, Mr. Fuller is represented to have been above the middle stature—tall, muscular, of great strength, and of an aspect to inspire respect, bordering upon fear. He was a man of strong nerves, undaunted courage, and of an even, cheerful flow of spirits. Old Lady Huntingdon used to thank God that she was "born before nerves were in fashion." The same might almost be said of Mr. Fuller. No one, certainly, was ever less affected by nervous sensibilities, whether pleasurable or painful.

The mode of living adopted by Mr. F. was very simple. He indulged himself in none but the plainest food, and carried his ideas of economy almost to an extreme. He used to say, that "the principal difference between one man's comforts, and those of another, depended on this: that the one *simplified* his wants, the other *multiplied* them." He aimed to be very regular in his hours of labor and of rest, carrying out in this respect the order which nature has herself established.

His temperament, though impulsive and excitable in early life, and always somewhat inclined to severity, was yet cheerful. Being once requested to publish something on the subject of religious melancholy, for the benefit of persons thus afflicted, he replied: "I know almost nothing about it; and what could I write on such a subject?"

Mr. Fuller was twice married, and had a large family of children; five of whom survived him. His diary and letters, as well as the testimony of his most intimate friends, prove him to have been a devoted husband and an affectionate father. He deeply sympathized in all the afflictions of his family, and keenly felt the repeated strokes of bereavement with which his domestic circle was visited. He was tried, like some other excellent men, with one wayward and profigate son; and to read his diary and letters touching this painful subject is enough to break one's heart. On hearing a re-

port (which proved to be unfounded) of the death of his son, in consequence of a severe punishment in the navy, he writes as follows: "Oh! this is heart-trouble! In former cases, my sorrows found vent in tears; but now I can seldom weep. A kind of morbid heart-sickness preys upon me from day to day. Every object around me reminds me of my lost son. Ah! he was wicked, and mine eye was not over him as it should have been, to prevent it. He was detected, tried, and condemned, and I knew it not. He cried under his agonies, but I heard him not. He expired without an eye to pity, or a hand to help him. O! Absalom! my son! my son! Would to God I had died for thee, my son!"

This son *did* die in the navy a few years after this heart-rending report. But it is comforting to know that a father's prayers and tears for him were not in vain. Before his last voyage, he sought and obtained his father's forgiveness; seemed entirely reformed; and died, it is believed, a true penitent.

It is evidence of Mr. Fuller's attachment to his family, and of his desire to be with them as much as possible, that he was accustomed to pursue his studies with them around him. "Instead of requiring a total seclusion from every interruption, or burying himself six feet deep in his study, in order to prepare the numerous publications which, in one shape or another, were constantly issuing from his pen, he generally sat at his desk, surrounded with the members of his family, in their common sitting-room, where, with astonishing rapidity, he composed his various papers for the press, and maintained, at the same time, a most extensive and unremitting correspondence with the four quarters of the globe."

In describing the character of Mr. Fuller, Robert Hall uses the following language:

"I cannot refrain from expressing, in a few words, the sentiments of affectionate veneration with which I always regarded that excellent person while living, and cherish his memory now that he is no more; a man whose sagacity enabled him to penetrate to the depths of every subject he explored; whose conceptions were so powerful and luminous, that what was recondite and original appeared familiar—what was intricate, easy and perspicuous in his hands: equally successful in enforcing the practical, in stating the theoretical, and discussing the polemical branches of theology; without the advantages of early education, he rose to high distinction among the religious writers of his day, and, in the midst of a most active and laborious life, left monuments of his piety and genius which will survive to distant posterity. Were I making his eulogium, I should necessarily dwell on the spotless integrity of his private life, his fidelity in friendship, his neglect of self-interest, his ardent attachment to truth, and especially the series of unceasing labors and exertions, in superintending the

mission to India, to which he most probably fell a victim. He had nothing feeble or undecisive in his character; but, to every undertaking in which he engaged, he brought all the powers of his understanding, all the energies of his heart; and, if he were less distinguished by the comprehension than the acumen and solidity of his thoughts—less eminent for the gentler graces than for stern integrity and native grandeur of mind—we have only to remember the necessary limitation of human excellence. While he endeared himself to his denomination by a long course of most useful labor, by his excellent works on the Socinian and Deistical controversies, as well as his devotion to the cause of missions, he laid the world under lasting obligations." Vol. i.

For the particular views which Mr. Fuller was led to entertain on theological subjects, and which he labored so earnestly to inculcate, he never scrupled to acknowledge his indebtedness to the New-England divines, such as the Edwardses, Bellamy, Hopkins, &c. In a letter to the late Dr. Dwight, of New-Haven, he says, "The writings of your grandfather, President Edwards, and of your uncle, the late Dr. Edwards, have been food to me, and to many others. Our brethren, Carey, Marshman, Ward, and Chamberlain, in the East Indies, all greatly approve of them. The President's sermons on Justification have afforded me more satisfaction on that important doctrine than any human performance which I have read." Mr. Fuller studied the writings of these men at an early period of his ministry; he imbibed their doctrines and their spirit; and having been much assisted by them in the difficulties in which he was then involved, he never failed to recommend them to others. Nor is it too much to say that he improved, in some respects, upon those who had been his guides. He avoided the extremes of statement into which some of them fell, and kept more closely to the representations of Scripture, considered as a whole. His works were highly prized, and early circulated in this country, and have done much towards elucidating and forming what is commonly spoken of as *the theology of New-England*.

In our opinion, Mr. Fuller was the best theologian of his age on the other side of the water. And by this we mean that he best understood, stated, methodized and explained the true doctrines of the Bible. Others were more learned than he; for to great learning, in the common acceptation of the phrase, he made no pretensions. But where shall we look for a contemporary, in all Europe, who so consistently held, so lucidly explained, so earnestly inculcated, and so ably defended, all those great principles which are distinctively denominated the doctrines of grace? The Germans of that day were groping in the mists of transcendentalism, or plunging down

the steeps of infidelity, from which state, even now, they are but beginning to emerge. The divines of the English Church, even the more evangelical of them, (if we except a few who had profited by Fuller's writings,) were but dabblers in the shallows of truth, while he fearlessly spread his sail upon the broad ocean, and sounded its depths.

For his *style* and *manner*, as well as his thoughts, we commend Mr. Fuller to the study of those who would be plain, close, searching, and effective preachers of the gospel. He made no pretensions to the sublimity of Chalmers, or to the classic richness and elegance of Hall. His chief aim was, to pour light into the understanding, to carry conviction to the conscience, and through the understanding and conscience, to reach the heart. What was obscure in God's word, he made it his object to elucidate; what seemed at first view discrepant, to harmonize; what was controverted, to defend; and what was of a nature to move the affections, he was sure to apply with a stirring effect. And all this he did in plain, common words; in short, lucid, and often striking and pithy sentences, without any desire to play the orator or the rhetorician, or to make himself prominent, but with the single and obvious intent to enlighten, awaken, convince, persuade, and (with God's blessing) to prepare the soul for heaven. In this respect, Mr. Fuller more nearly resembled Baxter, than any of the old English divines; and we have always considered Baxter a better model for young ministers than Howe, or Cudworth, or Barrow, or Bates—better even than Chalmers or Hall.

In taking leave of these volumes, we have only to say, that for issuing them in so complete and substantial a form, the Christians of America are under great obligations to the "Baptist Publication Society." There have been several memoirs of Mr. Fuller, but the one contained in these volumes, written by his son, is much to be preferred. In preparing it, Mr. Andrew Gunton Fuller has reared a monument to his excellent father, more enduring than marble, and more honorable than the sculptured mausoleums of kings.

It was fortunate for the publishers of these volumes that they were able to secure an editor in this country—the Rev. Dr. Belcher—who had been familiarly acquainted with Mr. Fuller, and was able to illustrate the different parts of the memoir with appropriate anecdotes and observations. The notes by Dr. Belcher are always interesting, and add materially to the value of the work.

Of Mr. Fuller himself, we say in concluding this article, as

we did in commencing it, that his aims were high, that his endeavors to reach them were untiring, and that he worthily accomplished life's great end. He has left his mark upon his age, and it will be a long while ere it is rubbed out. His name is embalmed in a thousand memories, where it will live and flourish forever. Undoubtedly, Mr. Fuller is among the blessed dead, who have died in the Lord. He now rests from his labors, and his works follow him—follow him to heaven, to be the measure of his endless reward there—follow him on the earth, in those trains of good influences which it was his privilege to set in motion, and which shall flow on, and on, through eternal ages.

ART. II.—THE METHOD OF THE DIVINE GOVERNMENT.

BY REV. R. E. PATTISON, D. D.,

Professor in the Newton Theological Institution.

The Method of the Divine Government; Physical and Moral. By REV. JAMES M'COSH. New-York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1851. Pp. 515.

Providence Unfolded in the Book of Esther: Also, The God of Providence, the God of the Bible; or, The Truth of the Gospel Proved from the Peculiarities of its Progress. By ALEXANDER CARSON, LL. D. New-York: Edward H. Fletcher. Pp. 271.

FEW evils rest with heavier weight on the hearts of sincere Christians, than the prevalent unbelief of men on the subject of religion. This unbelief is deemed by them to be perilous; the unbeliever is looked upon as hanging by a slender hold from a fearful precipice. And this mental oppression is aggravated by the consideration that, aside from the sovereign power and grace of God, so little can be done to diminish the amount and counteract the spirit of infidelity. All that is depraved in man, nourishes unbelief. Depravity is a rich soil into which no seed of the noxious weed falls without germinating; and, if left unchecked, without a luxuriant growth. This depravity is, in turn, increased by unbelief; like the soil which is fattened by the decay of the worthless vegetation which has sprung up from its own bosom. The history of the world, as well as of the Bible, teaches that depravity and infidelity reciprocally nourish each other. And were it not for our confidence in the divine power and promise, we should be crushed into despair, as we reflect upon the many hands which are employed in

scattering broadcast these seeds of death, as we see them borne on the bosom of every breeze—lighting down in every furrow of the plowman, and every garden and beautiful spot of industry and taste.

Some of the prevailing doubts arise from misapprehensions as to the kind of evidence necessary to prove the truth of a divine revelation. Christianity rests upon a species of evidence which has this peculiarity, that, while it may conduct to a conclusion as certain—as manifestly certain—as the testimony of the senses, or as a mathematical demonstration, it is often employed where mere probability is secured. It may be the lowest form of probability. This fact awakens suspicion at the outset. One needs, in order to enjoy the satisfaction of confidence, first to know that it is also capable of a clearness and force of conviction equal to any other in the whole range of argumentation; and then he must be able to test the character and value of each fact of evidence and of each logical relation.

Not a few are perplexed at the contradictory opinions among men as to religion. There are not only those who reject Christianity outright—a fact which tends to weaken the confidence of those who distrust their own judgments; but believers themselves entertain conflicting views as to many of the individual doctrines and modes of proof. From this discrepancy, and often actual conflict, there are those who infer general uncertainty. This, however, is a *prejudice*. No mental habit is more justly deserving of this designation. The first reasonable question is, can *we* know the truth? And though the inquiry into the cause of this confusion is both interesting and important, it furnishes no evidence against the truth.

Many are ignorant of the facts within their reach, which, if collected and constructed into an argument in support of the truth of any leading proposition, such as, There is a God; The Bible is his word; He will render retributive justice; He requires as a condition of life, faith in Christ and not the fulfilment of the law; Prayer is efficacious; and many others of a similar character, would be of irresistible force. If they were to attempt the process, they would be astonished at the number and weight of the reasons for faith.

The difficulty just mentioned is sensibly increased by the specious arguments of the enemies of Christianity. There are those whose zeal, in efforts to overthrow the whole system of religion, specially of revealed religion, is worthy of the holiest and most benevolent cause. Such utter their doubts, and often their false arguments, with an air of confidence and intellectual

superiority, which fills the minds of timid believers with disquietude, while it emboldens those whose hearts rebel at the restraints of moral law and scorn sovereign grace, openly to deny the fact of a divine revelation. Such often make a forward profession of belief in a religion of some kind, but of one from which is carefully excluded every element essential to the cultivation of personal holiness, or to the wants of a race lying under the curse of sin.

Vanity, or a desire to be thought superior to the herd of mankind, together with its apparently opposite, but really kindred spirit, the fear of being ranked among this degraded class, the weak and superstitious, is no uncommon cause of infidelity. The spirit is itself a mean one; and yet, in their moral obtuseness, those who cherish this spirit often look upon, as beneath their respect, some of the noblest traits of human character—meekness and the fear of God. A more just statement is rarely made than that of Robert Hall, that “infidelity is the joint offspring of an irreligious temper and an unholy speculation.” There is not a virtue in the Scriptures which does not find in some heart a deadly hostility. There is not a doctrine therein revealed, so pure or elevated, but some hand can be found ready to pluck it down and to plunge it in the slough of unbelief. There is not a hope or aspiration worthy of a rational being, which some would not extinguish in the death damps of a skeptical philosophy, or of a profane ridicule, the common weapons of impiety. Andrew Fuller, assuming that reason is the common ground on which the contest with infidels must be decided, says that: “On this ground Christian writers have successfully closed with their antagonists; so much so, that of late ages, notwithstanding all their boast of reason, not one in ten of them can be kept to the fair and honorable use of this weapon; on the contrary, they are driven to substitute dark insinuation, low wit, profane ridicule, and gross abuse. Such were the weapons of Shaftesbury, Tindal, Morgan, Bolingbroke, Voltaire, Hume, and Gibbon; and such are the weapons of the author of *The Age of Reason*.” There are spirits who cower before the show of such weapons. It is a wide gate, and many there be that go in thereat.

Whether this age is more or less skeptical than some which have preceded it, we do not know. Atheism is admitted to prevail most where the morals of the people are most depraved. *The Système de la Nature*, in France, was the offspring of one of the corruptest ages of a nation, whose intellect and wit have always been in advance of its conscience. And when infidelity

does not reach the daring height of Atheism, there is, beyond a doubt, an indissoluble connection between vice and unbelief. A fearful step is taken when the Bible is declared to be destitute of divine authority. Judging by the prevalence of immorality as a test, we shall not conclude this to be one of the epochs of infidelity. Sin abounds; but it requires only an ordinary degree of familiarity with the history of civilized nations, to lead to the conclusion that its prevalence now is not especially flagrant. Nevertheless, as there is a vast amount of crime, so there is of infidelity; and, if we are not deceived, both vice and religious unbelief are increasing in the American states. Romanism is not the only importation from the Old World prejudicial to our prospects. Infidel propagandists, as arrogant, as earnest, and as Jesuitical as the Jesuits themselves, are selecting and fortifying their strongholds.

Besides these, scientific investigations are often the occasions of suspicion concerning some of the established principles of revealed truth, or the best established facts recorded in the sacred Scriptures. From a very early period, at least from the middle of the second century, it has been a special department of apologetical Christian labors to vindicate revelation against scientific objections—to clear up suspicions, which have arisen at the successive developments in the sciences. The occasions have been frequent and varied. Theories, which have been broached in the process of establishing the science of geology—one of the most beautiful and easily classified of the sciences—have required enough of the time and talents of the church, to have given the gospel, had it been so directed, to almost any of the yet unevangelized nations. The nebulous hypothesis, with its sly inquiry,—Is there not some occult energy immanent in Nature, which, independent of a personal, intelligent Deity, is a sufficient first cause to account for all that we see and admire in her works?—is sensibly felt to check the progress of divine truth, like the brake upon the wheel of the car.* Anything that will account for the effects which

* These nebulae are divided into six classes, which vary from cloudy spots formed of “flocky masses, like wisps of clouds,” up to those in the centre, of which is a sudden condensation of nebulous matter, presenting the appearance of “a dull and blotted star;” and sometimes that of “a sharp, brilliant star,” surrounded by an atmosphere of faint light.

The hypothesis is, that these cloudy spots are in a progress of *development*, according to an occult law of nature, (from which the atheist infers that a God is needless,) into the higher orders destined gradually to become perfect stars. This principle of *development* is carried on into all departments of nature. On it all organism depends. Even the human race is but a result of this principle.

Huygens, in 1656, discovered the first nebula. This was of the lowest order;

make up the world's history independent of an intelligent first cause, makes, of course, such a Being philosophically unnecessary. Every such insinuation of science must be met, and shown to be groundless. This cannot be done by denying the facts of science, but by showing their harmony with the teachings of the Bible. This we may not be able to do off-hand. There are often, as might be expected, great difficulties; but if both can be proved to be true beyond a doubt, as religion certainly can, and also many of the facts in nature, which at first seem to conflict with religion—then cannot the Christian believer patiently wait? He need not be alarmed. It is now only twilight on some of the most interesting sciences—"the *day* shall declare it;" and he that contributes anything to elucidate these difficult questions, renders an essential aid to the cause of divine truth, and is a benefactor to the world.

Mr. McCosh has attempted a harmony of these two volumes of divine instruction. His work is able; and the object is accomplished in a better manner than we know of elsewhere. We are not aware of any other writer who has undertaken precisely the same end. It is an attempt to show that the *providences* of God, including his physical and moral laws, not only harmonize with, but find their only solution in, revealed religion. The design of the work differs from that of Dr. Paley, in his *Natural Theology*. In clearness and tact, Paley is, perhaps, unrivaled. As far as he goes, no author is more worthy to be read by an inquirer, specially an unbelieving inquirer; but his *Natural Theology*, like his *Evidences of Christianity*, stops short of that class of evidences which are richest, and have in them most power of moral suasion. In his *Evidences* he confines the argument almost exclusively to the external evidences, so called. His exceedingly limited consideration of the internal, wears the air of one who had seen the gospel only afar off. One is reminded of looking at an edifice in the distance through a telescope, for the purpose of guessing at its design, internal arrangements, and conveniences. Satisfaction cannot be experienced till the edifice is entered, and its apartments examined. His *Natural Theology* is equally restricted. He confines the inquiry "to the knowledge and attri-

and some, on comparing the figure of it, which he left with its then present appearance, fancy it has undergone a perceptible change. Herschel, however, to whom the world is chiefly indebted for later, more extended, and satisfactory discoveries, says, "the evidence of such change is by no means to be relied upon." But if it were, it proves nothing. The question still remains, what is this "occult law of nature?" The Christian says, it is God; an intelligent agent, the Father of us all.

butes of the Deity, and regards the speculation concerning his will and our own hopes from, and duties towards him, as another branch of the science, termed natural *religion*, in contradistinction to the former. Dr. Paley hardly touches on the latter branch in his book, there being only about *one sixtieth* part devoted to it, and that incidentally in treating of the attributes.* Nor is Lord Brougham's Discourse on Natural Theology the complement of that of Dr. Paley. If possible, he is still more deficient in "speculation concerning the will of God, and our own hopes from, and duties towards him." To say nothing of his probable want of interest in the theme, his design did not lead him in that direction. His object was not to prove, from the light of nature, that there is a God—much less to show what are his perfections—but to explain the nature of the evidence on which the argument rests; to show that it is a *science*, and strictly inductive. The discourse is strictly metaphysical.

The design of most writers on Natural Theology has terminated in the establishment of the truth, that nature—man and the world around him—is the product of a Being of power, intelligence, and goodness. It is worthy of note, also, that the goodness of God has received but a limited consideration. It is chiefly the mechanical idea. Under such teachings God appears to us as a sublime architect. They have elucidated, with scientific exactness and rigid logical certainty, the syllogism so often adduced, and which Dr. Thomas Reid so accurately states: "That design and intelligence in the cause may, with certainty, be inferred from *marks* or *signs* of it in the effect;" "There are the clearest marks of design and wisdom in the works of nature." The conclusion is inevitable, from the premises: "The works of nature are the effects of a wise and intelligent cause." Very few have denied the minor premiss. The facts are too numerous and too obvious; but a deadly onset has been made on the first, chiefly by modern freethinkers. They profess to believe that there inheres in nature (they mean in matter, as they are mostly materialists) a "force" or "power," which vague idea occupies the place of the Christian's God. It is not a person, a living, intelligent Being, but something mysterious, which, as we have before suggested, is immanent in nature. This something they call "cause," or "laws of nature," or "a principle of nature." One of the boldest advocates of these views, is the author of a work bearing the title, "Système de la Nature," already al-

* Lord Brougham's Natural Theology.

luded to. It professes to have been printed in London, (1780,) and is attributed by the editor to Mirabeau. But Lord Brougham believes it to have been printed in France; and that its author was Baron d'Holbach, aided by Diderot, Helvetius, and others of kindred spirit. The nobleman, on whose authority we have relied for these historical facts, says: "The chief resource of the writer is to *take for granted* the thing to be proved, and then to refer back to this assumption as a step in the demonstration, while he builds various conclusions upon it as if it were complete." It is now several years since we read this book; but we well remember our disappointment, as we read on, or rather were borne on, by the earnestness of the writer, and elegance of the style, ever looking, but in vain, for some reason, at least for some attempt to prove, that this "force," or "power," was *not* an ab extra personal God.* His illustrations were taken, as much as possible, from that class of facts where *design* is least marked, and where mere power is the most obvious cause, and wherever these marks of design did exist, he assumed that the cause was "a principle of nature;" and that they are not "signs" of an intelligent, designing mind. Dr. Paley's object, in his examination of the works of nature, is to prove that these marks *are* unmistakable "signs" of a personal author, as much so as the marks of design in a watch.† On the question, how the mind gets the idea and the conviction of a designing agent from these marks—that is, how the *marks* become *signs*—there may be difference of opinion; we believe it is both by intuition and by

* We first saw this book (1840) in the hands of an uneducated business man in one of our western cities. We were satisfied he did not perceive the assumption to which Lord B. refers. It would, however, have required, with his natural quickness of apprehension and earnest spirit of inquiry, but little metaphysical training to have opened his eyes to the fallacy. It is over such minds these atheistical writings exert the most fatal influence. The evil is one which cannot be well reached from the pulpit—the subject is too abstruse; and this class of persons rarely read those serious authors who elucidate these difficult questions.

† Mr. Hume's position is, that nature is an *extraordinary* effect, and therefore we cannot reason from marks of design in it, as in effects produced by human skill. In order to do so, it would be necessary, he maintains, that we should have seen the great Artificer making worlds—in which case we could infer he made this, though we had not seen him in the act of creating it.

There are two methods of answering this skeptical objection: one is, that the marks in this extraordinary effect are *intuitively* perceived to be signs of an intelligent author; the other is, that the *analogy* between this extraordinary effect and the effects of human skill is valid, *so far as the inference is concerned*. Dr. Chalmers lays much stress on this analogy. We are sorry to see he does so to the disparagement of the intuitional proof. Each is valid; perhaps they are equally so.

analogy. When we see such effects, *we cannot but infer a proper cause.* The mind, by its constitution, refuses to confound, in such cases, the effect and the cause, as being identical. Not only power, but knowledge and intention, are apprehended, and felt to be necessary. The conviction, call it feeling, if you choose, is sure that this powerful, intelligent, and intending cause, is distinct from the substance affected. This habit of belief finds, we admit, a strong analogy in the action of our own minds in designing; but the process of the mind, in deciding on this subject, is simpler than that in analogical reasoning. It is seen as distinctly in the action of the child's mind as in the action of the philosopher's. It is what Dugald Stuart designates as "a fundamental law of belief." Dr. Reid calls it "common sense"—a terminology generally rejected, but which seems to us strictly Socratic. Dr. Brown calls it "original suggestion"—others "intuition." The transcendentalists deem it one of the lowest exercises of "pure reason." We wish they had never gone higher, and so had not transcended the facts of our consciousness. Designate the mental act by what terms we will, we believe there are few things which we can infer with as great certainty, by the simplest form of the syllogism, as we can *intuitively* perceive an intelligent cause from the marks and signs of it in the effect. The facts are ascertained, like any other facts, by observation; but what there is in them which we recognize as signs of some personal, intelligent cause, corresponding in character so as to be a fit as well as adequate cause, requires a transcendental act of the mind—one purely intuitional. Perhaps an inference of any truth is nothing more or less than an intuitive perception of the relation between the conclusion and the major premiss, whether expressed or implied. Dr. Chalmers is, in our judgment, too reluctant to give due weight to these intuitional powers. In no kind of reasoning can we stop short of them. In Natural Theology we reach them at once; and they are our stronghold.

But whatever skill may have been displayed in many of these treatises on Natural Theology, little is adduced in most of them to give us any just notion of the higher perfections of God. From them we could no more learn the moral attributes of the Almighty Maker, than we could the religion of an artist from an examination of a watch which he had constructed. To ascertain whether he possessed integrity, or benevolence, or godliness, "we must inquire into the use he makes of the fruits of his ingenuity; we must follow him into the busy market and the social circle—into his family and his

closet." To understand the true character of God from his works, "we must," to continue the language of the author, "go beyond a mere machine—we must go beyond an organism—we must show how the works of God testify of one who lives and acts, who loves his creatures, and indicates his approbation of all that is good, and disapprobation of all that is evil. Science, in short, gives us the mere ANATOMY of the body of nature, instructive, no doubt, in its exhibition of important members and organs. Common natural theology gives the PHYSIOLOGY of nature, and shows us the full frame in its beautiful proportions; but the human mind will not rest till, in the region of a higher art, we have, also, its PHYSIOGNOMY, and nature presented in its living forms—its face radiant with smiles, and the deep lines of thought and character inscribed on its forehead." "Such is the figure," adds the writer, "which we have endeavored to present, rising beyond machinery to life, and beyond law to love, and finding the traces of a living God whom we may love, admire and trust, and, at the same time, revere and adore, and whose image, as we cherish it, assimilates our character to itself."—P. 454.

The object of the treatises under review, is to bring "nature into communion with religion." And by religion the author means revealed religion—specially the gospel of Christ as a scheme of mercy. The design is not like that of Bishop Butler, to remove objections to a state of future retributions, or to the teachings of revealed religion generally, by the analogies observed and experienced in this life. Our author goes farther. The analogies between natural and revealed religion are urged as a *positive* argument in support of the latter. They are "signs." The principle of reasoning is not precisely the same as that of Butler. The principle running through the Analogy, may be seen in a single proposition. There can be no objection to a future retribution, since God rewards virtue as such, and punishes vice as such, in this life. That of Mr. M'Cosh is, that God's treatment of men in this life has no solution, except the Bible be true. The key was made for the lock, not only because it fits it, but because the fitting is so complicated as to render doubt impossible. To show this relation existing between the Government of God in this world and the teachings of the Bible, it is necessary to carry the examination into the higher and more spiritual principles of the Divine Government. "Under one aspect," says the author, "we observe a government obviously orderly, yet filled with disorder. Under another aspect, we perceive man, a sinful being, covered with kindness, and yet called to give an account of his deeds to God, who hates sin."

This enigma the Bible solves. Some, looking only at the order of nature, deny the existence of disorder. To such even, sin is no disorder. Others, confining their attention to the proofs of divine goodness, overlook the tokens of his displeasure against sin. A third class see nothing but evil, or, at least, so much evil mixed with the good, that they deny any government, or maintain there must be two Rulers—one moved with benevolence, the other a being of unmixed malignity. The absurdity of this last is obvious to most minds. Mr. Hume chose the former horn of the supposed dilemma, and denied the proof of any established government, or even of a God. It is the Bible only which does or can clear up this difficulty. Nowhere else can we obtain light, or find satisfaction. This teaches us that, by looking higher, and by taking in a wider range of facts, the whole of this vast, complicated, and often apparently conflicting action and reaction, is moved and presided over by an infinitely powerful, wise, holy, and even gracious being, who is making the mingled good and evil in this world only parts of a grand whole, in which his holiness and love are alike sustained and glorified. The Bible teaches that sin is a disorder—a moral evil, and the cause of all physical evil which afflicts the human race. And it teaches still farther, that though man, by a perversion of his moral freedom, is the responsible author of this disorder, it is not only by the permission of God, but is so overruled by his infinite wisdom and holiness, as to bring forth praise to himself. Amid all the tokens of an offended and avenging Ruler, the earth is nevertheless full of the divine goodness—seen in magnificent gifts, in forbearance, and not unfrequently in bringing good out of evil through the scheme of mercy. It is in the gospel that we learn why God “endures with much long suffering.” It is not only that He may make His power known on the vessels of wrath fitted for destruction, but that He may make known the riches of His glory on the vessels of mercy, which he has afore prepared unto glory.

We have no intention of following the author through his 500 pages of rigid logic, abounding with facts and scientific principles. Though his style is lucid, occasionally ornate, and interspersed with varied classical allusions, showing him to be familiar with the richest treasures of literature as well as science, yet the book cannot be read without mental exertion. A hasty reading of the book may leave the impression, that the analysis is defective. It seems at first complicated. It is a comprehensive conception; to reach the result of which, requires not only much detail, but numerous divi-

sions. But we confess that the more we *studied* the work, the less inclined we were to censure his method. He first considers the class of phenomena presented in the physical world in their relation to the constitution and character of man, or the providences of God; in the second place, the class presented in the constitution and character of man in their relation to God, specially the moral faculties and their exercises. These, taken together, are the field of natural religion in distinction from natural theology. And after having shown, as we think, in a lucid and able manner, their harmony, as necessary parts of one grand whole, created, sustained, and overruled by a Being not only wise, powerful and good, but who hates sin, and yet is merciful; he then advances to his main object, and not only shows that all these indications are more clearly revealed in the Bible, but that to them all this revelation is the only key. In the early part of the work, the author gives the reader a hint as to the method to be pursued in the discussion of the first two classes of phenomena.

I. The providences of God present us with :

- (1.) Extensive suffering, bodily and mental.
- (2.) Restraints and penalties laid on men.

II. The soul of man in its relations to God, shows us :

- (3.) God at a distance from man.
- (4.) Man at a distance from God.
- (5.) A schism in the human soul.

The importance and interesting character of the subjects considered, may be seen by a selection:—Properties; Adjustment of the Material Substances, with their Properties, to each other; Relation of Cause and Effect; Connection of God with his Works; Isolated and Particular Events; Complexity of Nature; General and Particular Providence; The Control which God has over Man by means of Physical Arrangements; Explanation of Providence, furnished by the Sinfulness of Man, &c., &c. These belong to the first class of phenomena. Under the second class are considered:—The Will; Conditions of Responsibility; Responsibility and Freedom, compatible with the Causal Connection of God with his Works; Influence of Depraved Will upon the Moral Judgments; Governing Principles neither virtuous nor vicious; Principles that are evil, &c., &c. These are among the most interesting themes of inquiry which ever occupy the human reason. Though but a few of the subjects discussed by the author, they are a bill of fare which must stimulate a keen mental appetite in any one who has the least degree of philosophical susceptibility.

Without further regard to the work as a consecutive argument, we have selected for a hasty examination a few of the distinct topics treated of:

LAWS OF NATURE.

The expression "laws of nature," is ambiguous. In it, method is liable to be confounded with power or energy. The *cause* of a thing is something different from the manner or rule by which energy is accustomed to act; and yet the distinction is not always made. Atheistical writers often speak of the "laws of nature," as if they were energy itself—as if they were the *ground* of the changes and not its order or mode. The same confusion exists in the use of the word "principle." We do not object to the use of these terms according to either of these significations, provided the particular sense be specified, and no conclusions be drawn from one use which belong only to the other. When, however, to dispense with the existence of a First Cause, as a personal, independent Being, it is said, the effects in nature are produced by the "laws of nature," those who say so are guilty of a *petitio principii*. If they mean that these effects are *according* to the laws of nature, they only say what all Christians say; but, as the former is the idea intended by speculative Atheists, the question is still open:—Of which is the proof most satisfactory, that the power or cause inheres in nature, or is *ab extra* to it? or rather, is there a particle of proof that it does inhere? Is not the proof overwhelming that these effects are the products of a personal author, who often combines with his energy, wisdom and goodness? Are not the signs of these attributes in combination too intelligible to be misunderstood?

Mr. M'Cosh reaches this subject by an analysis exceedingly neat and simple—as much so as one of the plainest demonstrations in geometry. There are substances—confining the examination to matter—there are material substances; these substances, in mechanical or chemical combinations, change and are changed according to certain rules or established methods. "These," he says, "are the *properties* of the substance, and all substances have their definite properties; that is, a determinate method of producing changes on each other." This "determinate method of producing changes" is, of course, the only idea we can form of "properties." He then proceeds to show that an individual particle, or body of matter, cannot act. There is nothing that can change itself. A self-acting material substance cannot be found in nature. In order to action, there must be a plurality of bodies. Nor again, do these bodies act and re-act on each other, except as they hold to each other cer-

tain established *relations*—the relation of properties as well as of substances. Each substance, no matter what its properties are, remains inert till brought into the required relation to some other substance. If, therefore, when we speak of a “law of nature,” we mean the property of some particular substance, as if it were causative, or *had energy of itself*, the idea is false. There must be another substance with its property, and this *adjusted* to the first, before an effect can arise. A property is not energy, therefore, any more than it is wisdom or love; since energy is exerted only on the condition of the required adjustment.

Sometimes a succession, or series of similar effects, are called “laws of nature.” In this case, however, there is implied only a succession of similarly adjusted substances with their properties.

There is a third use of the expression “laws of nature,” which, so far from laying claim to an inherent energy as a cause, is not even based on this adjustment of properties to which we have referred. It is a mere classification of facts associated with some other fact, holding no causal connection with it; as that all ruminating animals are cloven-footed, or that animals with thick soft hair or fur, are confined to the snowy regions. Between ruminating and being cloven-footed, or the existence of animal fur and snow, there is no causal connection; and yet the fact of such a conjunction is often a great convenience to the human race; it facilitates knowledge. The science of botany is chiefly built on this principle of classification. But how absurd to suppose a step is taken in rendering the agency of God unnecessary, when it is asserted that these facts *depend* on a “law of nature.” The fact that two things are invariably found in conjunction, does not account for the existence of either, nor for their conjunction. The *cause* lies further back, or deeper; often absolutely beyond our cognizance. So far then from giving us an efficient or first cause, it does not reach even the second cause. The Christian’s position is, that when we have, in these cases or others, traced back or down to a true second cause, we have found only a *relation* of substances with their properties, in which we can see none of those attributes of intention, and wisdom, and love, which we know to belong to mind. When candid, and not bewildered with speculation, we are, by our mental constitution, forced to look beyond to an author without—to a personal God.

The relations of bodies in order to an effect are of four kinds: that of the *nature* of the properties—their quantity—space and

time. There must be a harmonious adaptation in all these four respects, or all is chaos. The author adduces a lucid example from the atmosphere. Nothing could support either animal or vegetable life, but a substance having the properties of air, composed of nitrogen, oxygen, carbonic acid, and aqueous vapor. These substances, with their properties, must be adjusted in quantity, space, and time. The least deviation in either is detrimental to the health of animals and plants; and the deviation need not be carried far till it is destructive of life itself. This principle is of universal application. Of the examples of it, the world is full; revealing, to the adoring heart of the Christian, the invisible presence of the wisdom and benevolence, as well as the power, of the God of the Bible.

THE CAUSAL CONNECTION OF GOD WITH HIS WORKS.

We believe it to be absolutely impossible to begin an argument for the existence of God from the *à priori* method; but when the fact is once established *à posteriori*, then the two methods may be combined in proving some of his attributes. And still further: the divine existence and attributes given, it is possible to prove *à priori* many other and important truths. That God has an abiding, causal connection with his works, is one of these truths. It is a truth of unspeakable sublimity, and essential to any rational system of religion.

We have no facilities by which to take cognizance of a present, intelligent spiritual agent, in the ceaseless flow of changes which are going on under our observation. God is omnipresent; present, of course, to every thing—to every second cause as well as to every substance. He has power unexhausted by any effort in creating. Why then inactive? He knows all that his children do or need. He is benevolent and holy, and must, from his very nature, be interested in all that is doing, either in unconscious matter or by his accountable creatures. Is it reasonable to suppose that such a Being would be inactive? We do not say that God cannot be inactive; but it is exceedingly difficult to conceive of his being so under these conditions. He cannot withdraw his presence, for he is everywhere present by his nature. Would he pervade the universe a quiescent observer of this vast machine?

To say nothing of the fact, that to suppose God to have endowed nature with certain properties, or second causes, and then to have withdrawn himself, strikes a fatal blow at some of the most precious doctrines of revelation; his perfections, as taught only by the light of nature, require us to believe him co-existing and co-operating with every natural cause;

"the two being united to form one cause." How this union exists, we do not know. Nor is our ignorance singular. How could we know? The connection of God, as a first cause, with second causes, is no more hidden from our perception than is the connection of second causes with their effects. Who understands how or why an effect follows its stated antecedent? or why properties in their appropriate adjustment produce changes in nature?

SPECIAL PROVIDENCES.

On the doctrine of "general laws," or that uniform effects follow a uniform adjustment of the properties of substances, taken in connection with the truth that God is ever present, a living agent in all his works, upholding all things by the word of his power, is to be constructed a system of divine providences. As we have intimated in the earlier part of this article, to stop short of this is to lose the practical influence of the religious element furnished us in the works of God. Although general laws are invariable, (miracles excepted, and which would fail in their design unless they were exceptions,) yet the proper adjustments of properties, on the regularity of which these general laws depend, are, in innumerable instances, varied and modified by other properties. To use general terms, laws conflict with laws, in consequence of which the appropriate effects of neither are experienced. On this account, the same effect precisely may never again occur in the history of the universe. Of course, no intelligence which cannot so penetrate the operations of nature, as to detect in a given case every secret law at work, can foresee, or provide for, an event ready at any moment to spring upon him.

The obvious general laws, such as are never interfered with, with which other laws never conflict, are few, and lie chiefly beyond our reach. The author adduces the laws of the heavenly bodies. In the science of astronomy we find exactness. How unlike the laws of the weather or of health! In these, each law is, when left undisturbed, as exact, and could be relied upon with as much confidence, as those which govern the revolution of the planets, each one of which is "brought forth in his season." But how frequently is this interference experienced in daily life! Who knows what a day will bring forth? "This uncertainty meeting us everywhere," says Mr. M'Cosh, "is more especially exhibited in those departments of God's works which bear the closest relation to men." "The net becomes more closely woven and complicated the nearer we come to him who is restrained by it." At first sight,

it seems an evil that the greater our dependence on a knowledge of these laws for our safety and happiness, the greater our weakness and ignorance. Hence our impatience and disquietude under the providences of God. The ills of life cannot be escaped.* But is there no final cause? no wise and benevolent reason? Can we see nothing in it worthy of an infinitely perfect, over-ruling Deity? Is there nothing in all this analogous to the most admired specimens of parental discipline among men? How long could one gaze without weariness on the uniform motion, in exact, though awful velocity, of the vast wheels, one of which receives and transmits the power to some extensive and complicated machinery, while the other silently and magisterially presides over and regulates its action! What a relief is experienced as we advance to the examination of the complicated machinery itself, where action, through its endless variety of parts, is as regular in fact, and as obedient to laws; yet, so broken, conflicting and diversified, that none but the skilful mechanic can "see through it," or trace out its laws. Though much must remain to most minds a profound mystery, as much so as the providences of God, yet who does not court this very mystery, unsatisfactory as much of it must be, rather than the dull, awful monotony of the few first well-defined and completely comprehended principles. We may once and again return to these objects of sublime simplicity, and gaze upon them with renewed wonder, but we shall not long linger there. It is in complicated variety, and not in solitary grandeur, that our curiosity is permanently exercised.

But a final cause, higher and more glorious than the mere gratification of our natural love of variety, and the exercise of our ingenuity, is too obvious to be mistaken. We are God's children. He feeds, and clothes, and governs

* We cannot omit to notice Mr. M'Cosh's just criticism on Combe's Constitution of Man; a work which has had an unmerited popularity in this country. The work is thoroughly infidel. Its principles are atheistical. "It is," says our author, "a congelation, and all by natural law, of a cold and secular age, which it has by reaction rendered still more frigid." And yet this is one of those *useful books* which Christian publishers furnish, and pious parents buy for their families to make them healthy and wise!

But its impiety is not its only defect. "He has utterly overlooked the ambiguity which lurks under the word law," to which we have alluded in this article: also the fact that the results of general law are often of the most complicated character, and such that they cannot be anticipated by human foresight. He boldly denies the efficacy of prayer; leads his readers to disregard their dependence on the providences of God; and, so far as his influence is felt, excites an expectation of a physical perfection and happiness in this life by obedience to natural laws, which God, who has made this world a sphere of moral discipline, does not intend we shall realize. He that would reap in joy, must sow in tears.

us. He has taken this method to teach us our religious relations to him, and the method adopted is worthy of God; and happy is he, who, free from all superstitious dread, with a well-settled faith in the unseen Being who presides over all this apparent confusion, and *orders* it all with infinite wisdom, power, love, and justice, can go forward with a firm tread and a fearless heart, "walking by faith and not by sight." There are no such powers, or second causes, or general laws, that there is not under them all, and in them all, infinite intelligence and a Father's heart. The Christian is assured that all things will work together for his good, because it is God, the Father of Spirits, who "worketh all things after the counsel of his own will."

The theory of Jonathan Edwards as to the causal connection of God with his works, is,—that every part of the universe is sustained by a continual succession of acts of the divine will, like that which first caused the world to exist; and that second causes, or the causal power of properties, is upheld, like an image in a mirror, *by a continual flow of rays of light*. Whether this method of explaining the connection of God with his works is true or false, the mind, enlightened as to the attributes of God, and imbued with a filial disposition, believes there is such a connection, that it is in him "we live, and move, and have our being."

PRAYER.

The causal connection of God with his works lies at the foundation of the doctrine of prayer, as well as of the providences of God. If the Creator has established second causes, and has retired from them, and is now a mere spectator of his works, prayer can have no other design than its reflex influence upon him who offers it. However important this influence is, it cannot be its primary design. He that begs for bread, hopes for bread. The reflex influence which the moral discipline of such a condition must exercise over him, is rarely in mind, and at most, can only be an incidental and remote result.

But it is not to be forgotten, that the efficacy of prayer is a doctrine of faith. The light of nature teaches us the reasonableness of prayer, provided there is any causal connection between God and his universe; and the heart of man teaches him his need of aid from such a Being as God is, and prompts him to look to him in the hour of distress. But on the causal connection between prayer and its answer, philosophy does not shed a ray of light. Sometimes an attempt is made to shed

light on this question; at least, to show that there is nothing peculiar in the subject which does not attach to any instances of cause and effect. With others, Dr. Wayland, in his admirable chapter on prayer, in his Treatise on Moral Science, supposes a connection between prayer and its answer possible, which is as philosophical as any causal connection in nature. Now, in the act of prayer, we are conscious of the *feeling*, at least, that there is no such connection. The only connections are, first, that between ourselves and the will of God; and, secondly, that between the will of God and the object sought. There is no shorter road. And so far as prayer has a moral design, as a reflex influence, it appears to be intended to impress the soul of the suppliant with a deep religious sentiment, that he is utterly helpless, because cut off from the object needed, only as he can reach it through the pity and power of Him who, being everywhere present, can be where he cannot be, and do what he cannot do, and what no creature can do for us. Although there are, and all feel that there are, no such properties of mind in the exercise of prayer, or *adjustment* of them, as will act directly on the object needed; yet, there are—let God's name be adored—such properties in the desires of the human heart, even of the sinner's heart, that if rightly adjusted, will act on the divine mind, so that the pleading soul can have “power with God;” and God is so connected with his works that *he* can do the things we need.

If it be objected that, whether God is connected with his works or not, prayer can be of no use so long as he acts by established laws, we reply, *faith declares it is of use*. We deny that any one can so thoroughly see through the subject as to know it can be of no use. We cheerfully acknowledge our inability to see how the idea of *efficacy* in prayer accords with the doctrine of the established order of the universe. This and the eternal purposes of God are of the same class. But the Bible teaches us that prayer is efficacious, not, indeed, as directly; yet as much so as any second cause; and the condition of man and the impulses of his heart, find their counterpart in the promise, “ask and ye shall receive.”

SYMPTOMS OF INTENDED RESTORATION.

The probability, from the light of nature, that God would show mercy to the guilty, is exceedingly slight. Without a divine revelation, the light shines dimly. The hope must be painfully uncertain. There lies at the very root of the question an obstacle—*the desert of guilt*. The moment this is considered in the light of the divine holiness—God's sense of the desert of guilt—there springs up in the mind an expectation of

punishment. That we are sinners, is a fact. It is an unchangeable one. This expectation of punishment can be outweighed only by the fact, clearly ascertained, that God has ordained a plan of mercy on some principle which does not conflict with the principle which excites this expectation of punishment. For a knowledge of this fact of mercy we are dependent on a divine revelation.

But while we think "the symptoms of intended restoration" furnished by natural religion feebler, perhaps, than the author does, we do believe there are facts in the government of God over this world, which not only accord with a dispensation of mercy, but find in it their most satisfactory solution. "The period of respite and probation,"—"the numberless bounties which mankind enjoy,"—"the pains which God is taking in his government to recommend and uphold virtue,"—agree with a scheme of mercy. There are, unquestionably, some *hints* in these things at a higher and wider exercise of beneficence. We might expect he might do the one, provided he did the other. And the expectation would be strengthened, if we saw any indications, in what kindness he shows, that it is preparatory in its character—a step towards an end. But, we must admit, he might do these and not finally pardon. The present forbearance and beneficence might be accounted for on other principles than as being preparatory to a dispensation of pardon. They are not parts of a scheme in any such sense that their existence *necessarily* implies mercy as its counterpart.

There are several other points which we would gladly consider, had we not already extended this article further than a subject so abstract warrants. It is not to be expected that any reader will agree with all that is said in a treatise in which so many difficult questions are examined. The book is full of principles. Not the least numerous or interesting are those belonging to the field of mental science. In this we confess our dissent from some of his analyses. The most objectionable, in our estimation, is that of the will; and when he attempts to show in the exercise of what faculties responsibility resides.

While Dr. Woods, with many others, assigns *moral* character even to the *tendencies* of the heart to right or wrong exercises, Mr. M'Cosh confines the moral quality of an action to the desires—to the "optative states;" excluding not only tendencies, but the emotions themselves. The subject is exceedingly subtle, and requires an exact psychological analysis, as well as an eagle's eye, to detect and settle the limits of those mental states which connect the soul to the judgment-seat. But we

must leave this, with a multitude of other interesting inquiries, to the examination of the reader himself. Should the author be in error on some of these subtle questions, it does not impair essentially the force of his main argument. Our object will be realized if we shall have contributed in any degree to awaken an interest in a subject unspeakably important, but too generally overlooked.

It is hardly necessary to add, in conclusion, that Mr. M'Cosh is a Scotchman; a disciple and obvious admirer of the late Dr. Chalmers, at whose suggestion the work was undertaken. It has the same high moral and intellectual bearing which characterizes the writings of that eminent Christian and philosopher. It is a rich contribution to that portion of the Christian ministry who understand their high calling, and are not impatient of severe study.

The work of the late Dr. Carson, of Ireland, the title of which we have placed at the head of this article, in connection with that of Mr. M'Cosh, would have been, had it been written by the same author, a suitable supplement to the work we have noticed. We design only to allude to this book. Not that Dr. Carson, as a writer or thinker, is inferior to Mr. M'Cosh. In some of his polemic writings there is betrayed a censorious spirit, which are the "dead flies." But he is entitled to rank among the ablest men of his age: he was a profound thinker, with a vein of original thoughts, every page and paragraph of which richly repays the toil of the reader. This work is strictly practical, and the manner of treating the subject is a model for the preacher. The scientific method of Mr. M'Cosh is inadmissible in the pulpit. Those who adopt it preach to empty seats. The other extreme, of mere declamation, may please the multitude, but will not instruct them; such do not "feed the flock of God." Dr. Carson recognizes in the outset a few simple, elementary principles in the government of God: such as the universality and invariableness of natural laws, and also the causal connection of God with his works. These, and several of a kindred character, being clearly elucidated, in which the writer shows plainly what he could have done in philosophy if he had devoted himself to such subjects, he at once proceeds to unfold, in a most striking manner, the providences of God, as manifested in the History of Esther, and in the Progress of the Gospel. The subjects are treated of in two distinct tracts, but, in fact, are but one theme. The incidents are well chosen, the argument is ingenious, and the spirit is eminently religious. The work is properly entitled, **PROVIDENCE UNFOLDED.**

ART. III.—RECENT GERMAN WORKS ON LATIN
GRAMMAR.

BY PROFESSOR J. L. LINCOLN,

Brown University.

FOR the use of our classical readers, we have prepared an abstract of two articles on the above subject, published in two recent numbers of the Leipsic *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik*. The writer, Professor Weissenborn, of Eisenach, himself the author of an excellent Latin grammar, and a scholar well known in Germany for his various philological attainments, goes into a thorough and detailed criticism of the works which he passes before him. Our limits will not allow us to follow him into all the details of this critical review, and we propose only to exhibit so much of it as may serve to illustrate the character and merits of the different works.

The first is entitled, *Organismus der Lateinischen Sprache*, u.s.w., von Dr. Anton Schmitt: Mainz, 1851. This work, the most comprehensive in title and plan of all which are mentioned, is condemned as one that falls far short of securing its proposed ends.

Next follows a series of thirteen works, devoted to different parts of Latin etymology, and all having this feature in common, that the inquiries pursued in them have continual reference to the results won in recent times in the study of comparative grammar.

1. *Commentationes Grammaticae duae*. Alb. Dieterich, Nürnberg, 1846. This work consists of two dissertations, in which are acutely discussed two difficult points connected with the sounds of the language. The first is entitled, *de literarum in lingua latina transpositione*. The results reached are these: that the transposition of letters in Latin occurs but doubtfully with mutes, chiefly with the liquids, with the exception of *m* and *n*, and in all cases is limited to a consonant and a vowel. Also, that, in general, where the Greek and the Latin differ in kindred, or in the same words, the Latin is probably the older form, and more nearly like the original form, from which both were derived. The second dissertation is on the influence upon the Latin vowels, occasioned by the affixing of *l*, (*de vocalibus latinis subjecta litera l affectis*.) The author shows, that the changes of vowels by *l* affect generally the short ones, scarcely ever the long; and he discusses in full the influence of accent and the stem-syllable upon the original sounds.

2. *De præpositionibus suffixis*: Hoch, 1848. This is a little

treatise of great value, in reference to the settlement of Latin orthography.

3. *Sprachvergleichende Beiträge: 1ter Theil.* von Georg Curtius. Berlin, 1846. This is a most valuable contribution to comparative philology, in its relations to the Greek and the Latin language. The author is a genuine disciple of Bopp and of Pott, and is not only thoroughly versed in all their labors, but has, by subjecting their results to independent criticism, exhibited them in a new and better manner. The opinion of Humboldt he presents, and illustrates most forcibly, that the peculiarity of the verb is not that it expresses the notion of action, but that it predicates one thing of another. In regard to the personal forms, he mostly follows Bopp and Pott. One view which he maintains with great clearness and success is, that the union-vowel in the formation of the verb, which Bopp considers a pronominal stem, is simply euphonic. The classification of the verbs is thought by the reviewer to be less applicable to the Latin than to the Greek, and even as applied to the Greek, to be wanting in scientific severity. About two-thirds of the work (we have the book before us) are devoted to the discussion of the Tenses and the Moods, which are naturally divided into simple and compound. Under the Simple Tenses, come the Present, to some extent the Perfects, and the Imperfects *eram* and *bam*, the latter now discernible only in composition, and both already fully discussed by Bopp. The doctrine of Benary, that the Latin perfect corresponds to the Greek Aorist, is successfully refuted. The reduplicated perfect is very fully treated. In the Moods, the author coincides generally with Bopp. Under the Compound Tenses, are handled the Imperfect, the Perfect, the Pluperfect, and the Future Perfect; and under Compound Moods, the Imperfect, Perfect, and Pluperfect of Subjunctive. It is hoped that the subsequent parts of this work may discuss, with like thoroughness, other portions of Latin grammar.

Of the next seven works, mostly of small compass, it will be enough to make only a brief mention.

4. *De conjugationibus latinis commentatio.* J. Seemann. An unsatisfactory book.

5. *De casuum origine et natura deque genitivi et ablativi græcæ latineque declinationis conformatio.* E. A. Fritsch. Gissae, 1845.

The writer defends with great acuteness the theory, that the origin of the case-forms is to be found in verbal, and not, as Bopp thinks, in pronominal roots. But the field of conjecture into which his inquiries lead him is so wide, as to awaken but small expectation of practical results.

6. *Das Lateinische Dativ-Locativ*, by Höfer, published in his *Zeitschrift*: in which he attempts to show, that the Dative is only an application of the Locative, inasmuch as the latter expresses *whither* as well as *where*. This view seems supported by some analogies; but it is hardly credible that two so different relations would be expressed by the same suffix.

7. *Aphoristische Beiträge zur Lateinischen Grammatik*. Blume. Brandenburg, 1845; devoted to the subject of Gender, and of the formation of the cases, which are discussed in an attractive manner, but the former not with such thoroughness as in Grimm's German Grammar.

8. *De comparativis et superlativis linguae Græcae et Latinæ*. Nordhusiae, 1844; in which the results of the latest investigations are well brought together, and some new views added.

9. *Bedenken u. Fragen über die pronomina indefinita u. interrogativa*. The writer carries out the view, that the indefinite pronouns all originate in the demonstrative, and the interrogative in the indefinite.

10. *Über hec as fem. plural*; an article in the *Rheinisches Museum*, by Fleckeisen. The writer shows from the best MSS., that *hec* occurs as fem. plural six times in Cicero, in Caesar once, and many times in Livy.

11. The next book noticed is the Fifth Part of Bopp's Comparative Grammar, a work already so well known, that a mere mention of the title and contents of this Part will be sufficient for our purpose. The title is, *Fünfte Abtheilung der vergleichenden Grammatik*, von Franz Bopp, Berlin, 1849; and this Part is given to the continuation of the formation of verbs, and in particular to Derivative Verbs and Nouns. This work, so important for the whole subject of philology, will be completed with the Sixth Part, which, it is hoped, may soon appear.

The next two are Gymnasium programmes—a most valuable class of German philological publications—the subjects of which are of a kindred nature, viz:—

12. Lingnau: *De verbalibus quibusdam in men et mentum exeuntibus*: and

13. *De substantivis verbalibus in io et us desinentibus*: Dziadek, in the programme of Trzemessno, 1847.

The next six works are of a different character, and are connected only indirectly with Latin grammar, being devoted to the discussion, either of the earliest remains of the Latin, or of existing monuments of Italian languages allied to the Latin.

14. *Origines poesis Romanæ*. W. Corssen. Berolini, 1846. A careful collection and explanation of the fragments of the *Carmen Saliare*, and other ancient Latin poems.

15. *De substantivorum Umbricorum declinatione*. This con-

sists of two programmes of the Tilsit Gymnasium, 1846-47, written by A. P. Zeuss, and embodying the results of the most diligent investigation.

16. *Die Umbrischen Sprachdenkmäler*; von S. Th. Aufrecht u. A. Kirchhoff. Berlin, 1849. In this most learned work the writers explain these obscure remains of a remote age and people, and not only bring to light the meaning of the inscriptions, but also unfold the language itself to which they belong, in its sounds and its forms. It is clearly shown that the Umbrian was very nearly related to the Latin in its vowels and consonants; and the treatment of the forms develops important affinities with those of Latin, and throws some light on the older Latin forms.

17. *Inscriptiones Umbricæ et Oscae, quotquot adhuc repertæ sunt Omnes*; Lepsius: Berolini, 1841. This work of Lepsius was one of the earliest in this department of Philology, and gave a new impulse to its investigation. On the basis of the results which it furnished, Dr. Peter, in the Halle Literary Journal, 1842, projected his outlines of a grammar of the Oscan.

Then followed Mommsen, with his fruitful researches into the monuments, and the language and history of the Oscans, in his *Oskische Studien*, Berlin, 1845; and the *Nachträge*, published in 1846. These were succeeded by

18. *Das Oskische*, by Curtius, in Bergk's *Zeitschrift*, Nos. 49, 50, and 61-63; which carry forward the plan begun by Peter, and subject the Oscan sounds and forms to a new examination.

19. *Die Unteritalischen Dialekte*, von Th. Mommsen. Leipzig, 1850. This book embodies the results of various treatises, on separate points, formerly published by Mommsen, which have been enlarged, united, and wrought into one entire and organic work, which marks an important advance upon the labors of Lepsius, and is the most extensive and valuable authority on the ancient dialects of Lower Italy. Besides its absolute worth for these dialects, it has a great relative value for the study of Latin grammar. It clearly results from the author's investigations, that the Latin is no mixture, as sometimes represented, of ancient Italian dialects; on the contrary, while, in its roots and forms, it is nearly allied to the Umbro-Sabellian tongues, and especially the Oscan, it has many peculiarities which could not have been derived from that source, or from the Greek, and which pre-suppose an independent development, within the limits of the great Indo-Germanic stock of languages. The dialects treated by Mr. Mommsen, are the Messapian, the Oscan, and the Volscian. Of these, the Oscan furnishes the richest materials for study; and, in an extended history of its province and duration, the author has

attained the most valuable results. All the remains of this language he has carefully copied, collected together, and subjected to a most rigid investigation. The duration of the language lies within the years 331 and 666 of Rome. This interval is considered as divided into two eras: the first extends to the year 400, and all the remains belonging to this era exhibit the traces of Grecian influence; the remains of the second era, which comprehends the remainder of the above interval, indicate a free and independent development of the language, and a high degree of culture in the people who spoke it. The author, after having interpreted the several existing monuments, proceeds to unfold a system of the language to which they belong.

From the examination of these various works, all of which, as it has been seen, discuss either detached points of Latin grammar, or topics indirectly connected with it, the reviewer next passes to those which embrace the whole subject, and form entire grammars of the language. Of this class, no one has yet appeared of a purely scientific character, intended only for the exhibition of the language in all its phenomena; but all are school-books, and limited in materials and form, though they differ in compass and mode of treatment, according to the different views of the authors in respect to the requisites of a school grammar. They are all considered under three classes: first, those which proceed upon the old method of grammar, which arranges the phenomena of language according to the different kinds and forms of words, what we may call the *historical method*; second, those which follow the new method, which aims to deduce the entire grammar out of the development of the sentence, what we may hence call the *organic or philosophical method*; and lastly, those in which there is an attempt to unite the two methods, by retaining the old for the most part, and abandoning it for the new only in certain parts.

Of the works belonging to the first of these classes, the Grammar of Zumpt (in the recent tenth edition) deservedly holds the first rank. This grammar is well known to all our readers; and also the excellent English translation from the ninth edition, executed by Dr. Schmitz, and published in London in 1845. We shall give only the title of the last edition, viz: *Lateinische Grammatik*, von C. G. Zumpt, Dr., 10te Auflage, Dummler, Berlin, 1850. Next to Zumpt's, and also a well-known work, is the grammar of Schultz, *Lateinische Sprachlehre zunächst für Gymnasien bearbeitet*, von Ferd. Schulz, Paderborn, 1848. To the same class belongs the *Lateinische Satzlehre*, u.s.w., of Venedey, Wien, 1848. This, as

seen from the title, is the second part or the Syntax of the author's grammar, the first part of which was published some time since.

Billroth's grammar does not keep so strictly to the old method. The author was an acute thinker, and at the same time a man of strong practical tendencies, so that, although he was not insensible to the defects of the old system, he was unwilling to carry through an entire change in accordance with his own ideas. The consequence was, that by adopting the new system only in certain respects, he failed to shape his materials into a well-ordered and symmetrical whole. Of this work, there is a new edition, by Dr. Ellendt, entitled, *Lateinische Schulgrammatik*, von Dr. G. Billroth, 3te Ausgabe, besorgt von Dr. Fr. Ellendt, Leipzig, 1848. In this edition, the editor has retained the plan of Billroth, but has made alterations, by change of expressions, and by additions or abridgments. In particular, he has enlarged the chapter on the arrangement of words, and the structure of the sentence; and the chapter on metres he has entirely changed, and made much fuller and better suited to the wants of pupils.

To the intermediate class of grammars, (the third in our division above,) belongs also the *Grössere Lateinische Grammatik*, u.s.w., von Dr. C. E. Putsche, Jena, 1850. This is more conservative than Billroth's, as the influence which it concedes to the new method is rather external and apparent, than internal and real. In the preface the author says, that he has sought to unite the new and the old method; that he has accordingly divided the syntax into three parts: in the first two, which belongs to elementary instruction, he has followed the old method; but in the third, intended for a higher course of teaching, he has adopted "the method of Becker, which initiates the student into a profounder understanding of the language, and especially of the inner nature of the sentence." But in reality, the author has not applied to this third part the method of Becker; its adoption, indeed, under such circumstances, were scarcely possible. To illustrate this point, we need not follow the reviewer into all his details, but only mention such parts as seem essential. The third division of this part treats, in two subdivisions, of "Conjunctions, or of the Compound Sentence." This caption itself suggests an expectation of a different plan from that described in the preface, and the expectation is confirmed by the opinion soon expressed, that "the doctrine of the compound sentence can be conveniently taught in that of the conjunctions; for this opinion, in direct inversion of Becker's system, makes the various relations of sentences subordinate to the conjunctions, though the latter are only the ex-

ponents of the former. Still further, the title is deceptive, for in the chapter which follows it, the doctrine of the conjunctions is not given, but really has been given already in an earlier chapter in the etymology, while the co-ordinate and the subordinate sentences, so far as designated by conjunctions, are dispatched in this part of the syntax in very few words, their grammatical relations scarcely touched, and their connections with the principal sentence not fully explained, but only indicated. What the author has done in executing his plan, is summed up as follows: he has dispensed with the *Syntaxis ornata*, (as it is found e. g. in Zumpt,) has adopted Becker's account of attributive sentences, and has touched upon the other relations of the compound sentence only in general remarks, while he has not arranged the entire subject-matter according to the system which lies at the basis of such remarks, but has put it partly in the etymology and partly in the syntax, and has left it for the teacher or the pupil to search for, and gather up the necessary details to fill up the outline which is sketched in the third part of his book. It will be seen that the reviewer's criticism is fatal to the claims which this work assumes of illustrating the new method, or of uniting it successfully with the old. Indeed, the plan itself, projected probably from practical considerations, and from a desire to shun too violent changes in grammatical instruction, is scarcely feasible. This work of Putsehe, who is a most able Latin scholar and grammarian, is a continuation (as is expressed in its title, which we omitted from its length) of his smaller grammar, published in 1843; and is intended for a higher course of instruction. Most of the etymology contained in the smaller work has been transferred unchanged to the larger; the first two parts of the Syntax appear in the larger greatly enlarged and improved; while the third, which has been above described, is entirely new. The usefulness of the smaller work, its practical success, and the untiring labors of the author to improve it, are all favorably dwelt upon by the reviewer; and the excellence of the new work, considered as a text book, conducted on the old plan, is acknowledged, and illustrated in many particulars.

The next work reviewed is the grammar of Kritz and Berger, entitled *Schulgrammatik der Lateinischen Sprache*, von Dr. Fr. Kritz und Dr. F. Berger. Göttingen, 1848. This strictly belongs to the second of the above mentioned classes, being constructed entirely upon the new method. We should far transgress our limits, if we should give a full abstract of Professor Weissenborn's review of this grammar; and we shall aim to seize upon only so much as shall show the place which the work is designed to fill, and its character and its merits, or

defects. It was prepared to form the second of a series of three parallel grammars—Greek, Latin, and German—projected and commenced by Professor Rost, of Gotha, (in his Greek grammar, published in 1844,) for the realization of the idea of Thiersch, of parallel courses of grammatical instruction in these three languages. The plan on which such a series was to be prepared, and the practical advantages which were expected to follow its adoption and use in the German Gymnasia, have been fully set forth in the preface of Rost's grammar, the first of the series. They were to be made upon the basis of the same grammatical principles, to have a like succession of divisions and sub-divisions, and, so far as possible, the same forms of statement. The advantages to be secured were chiefly these: (we take them from Rost's preface, now before us:) a well-ordered survey of the contents of grammar, and of the connection of its several parts—a comprehension and a fixing in the memory, once for all, of the various divisions, and of their meaning, and a clear insight into the economy of language in general, and of each language in particular. Furthermore, it was confidently expected that the time employed in grammatical studies would be vastly diminished, without any loss or disparagement in the thoroughness with which they were pursued. It must be manifest to all practical teachers, that the idea of Thiersch is a most ingenious and valuable one; and its realization on right principles, and in accordance with the genius and idioms of each of the three languages, would secure immense advantages in the conduct of the business of education. In respect to the first two parts of the present series, it is manifest, at first glance, that the authors have adhered with a singular fidelity to their common plan; for, with the exception of one book on dialects, peculiar to Rost's work, and a chapter on the *Oratio obliqua*, peculiar to that of Kritz and Berger, the divisions and subdivisions down to the paragraphs are the same in both, and given in the same forms of statement. The authors of the Latin grammar have come to their task with the requisite learning and scholarship, and with the views and tact of practical educators, and have executed it with intelligence and earnest diligence, and with most praiseworthy success. On the other hand, it is observed that some points are treated with a little too much leaning to the system projected, rather than in exact accordance with the language itself; also, that the compass of the work, filling, as it does, 644 pages, and these, too, to some extent, in small type, is too great for the character of a parallel grammar, and needs to be abridged. The labor of composition was so divided between the two authors, that both did not work upon the whole grammar, but each gave himself to a dis-

tinct part, Dr. Berger being responsible for the etymology, and Dr. Kritz for the syntax. The etymology is characterized in general by a comprehensive survey and arrangement of the materials, and a constant use of the most recent investigations. But in some points it is too extended and detailed, and admits too much refinement of reasoning—not unfrequently contains repetitions, and is sometimes deficient in exactness of expression. More emphatic commendation is bestowed upon the syntax. Dr. Kritz, already well known as an accomplished Latinist, by his editions of Sallust and Velleius, has done his task with no less clearness and simplicity than care and knowledge of the language. With the exception of a few particulars, he has constructed his syntax upon the basis of Becker's system, and has made this part of the grammar correspond at once to the present condition of the science, and to the practical wants of pupils. It is only to be wished and expected that, in a subsequent edition, the work will appear in a still more perfect form; especially that it will be abridged, as it now covers more than 400 pages, (twice as much as the Greek syntax in Rost,) and by still further labor will be made more fully to develop the Latin syntax out of the simple sentence and the very nature of the language.

We ask the thoughtful attention of classical teachers and professors to the character of this last work, and of the series to which it belongs, and to the ends in education which they are designed to accomplish. With the rapid multiplication of studies in our schools and colleges, and the growing tendency to pursue all in too short a time and a too superficial manner, certainly any plan that gives reasonable promise of securing equal thoroughness of study in less time deserves most favorable consideration. A great evil in all our institutions of learning is a want of union and co-operation on the part of teachers, and a want of concentration and uniform system in courses of study, and in methods pursued in the making of text books. Something has been done already in this country towards realizing a plan of parallel grammatical instruction. We refer to the publication of the excellent translations of Kühner's grammars, the School Greek Grammar of Professor Edwards and Mr. S. H. Taylor, the Elementary Greek of Mr. Taylor, and the Elementary Latin of Professor Champlin, which last has passed to a new edition, or rather a new and remodeled work, with the title of Kühner's Latin Grammar, with exercises, Latin Reader, and vocabularies. These works were not, indeed, so far as we know, prepared with any understanding on the part of the translators, or with any direct reference to such a plan of instruction as has been described; but the grammars, as we now have them, form in English a series which has the

general characteristics and mutual relation of such a series as that plan contemplates; and we have understood that where they have been adopted and are used together, they contribute to systematize and expedite the course of classical study. Kühner's grammars belong to the same class as Rost's, and that of Kritz and Berger: and they practically illustrate, though with less rigor and exactness of method, the same plan of parallel grammars. The last edition, of the author's School Latin Grammar, is the last of the list of grammars noticed by Professor Weissenborn; and, with a brief mention of this work, we shall close this already too extended article. The title of it is as follows:—

Schulgrammatik der Lateinischen Sprache, von Dr. Raphael Kühner, 3te sehr verbesserte Auflage. Hannover, 1850. The work is, in the present edition, only three pages larger than in the preceding one. In system and method it is the same; but it has undergone many changes, which show the author's constant efforts to bring it to the utmost perfection. A chronological survey of Latin literature has been prefixed to the Etymology. In the chapter on the Sounds and the Letters, the changes of vowels are more exactly specified; and the section on the Consonants has received some additions. In the Declensions, no important changes have been made. In the Inflections of Verbs, the formation of the perfect and supine has been carried out somewhat differently, but not so as to be wholly satisfactory. The Impersonals have been divided into verbs, which express *Physical*, *Ethical*, and *Dialectic* relations; a change which we are inclined to think is no improvement; it illustrates Kühner's tendency to a *hard* nomenclature; and we agree with Professor Weissenborn, that it is very doubtful whether the pupil could get a clear idea of the meaning of such expressions. From the governing principle of the Syntax, which makes the verb the soul, as it were, of the sentence, it might have been expected to begin, as in the larger Greek grammar, directly with the verb and its nature; but the chapter on the Kinds of Verbs comes after that on Agreement, and also, as it is given by the author, is scarcely adequate to the purpose. The subordinate sentences are divided into Adjective, Substantive, and Adverbial—a division which does not correspond with the threefold character of the sentence, as composed of the Subject, Attribute, and Object. The relations of the Moods are amply discussed. At the close of the book, and next following the *Oratio obliqua*, are treated Ellipsis, Brachylogy, Zeugma, Pleonasm, Prosody in reference to Virgil, Ovid, and Horace; and, in three Appendices, Abbreviations, the Roman Calendar, and the Roman Money.

ART. IV.—THE DOCTRINE OF THE HOLY SPIRIT'S
PRESENCE IN THE WORD, EXAMINED.

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The Union of the Holy Spirit and the Church in the Conversion of the World. By THOMAS W. JENKYN, D.D. Boston: Gould, Kendall & Lincoln. 1846.

IT is not our purpose, in the following remarks, to pass a general review upon the book before us. Its distinguishing peculiarity is found in the theory which its author propounds touching the Presence of the Holy Spirit in the Word; and whatever of merit or demerit attaches to it, arises from that theory. If that theory be correct, the reasonings based on it are doubtless conclusive; if it be erroneous, the conclusions drawn from it are false and unworthy of confidence. We shall therefore proceed, at once, to an examination of the peculiar views held by Dr. Jenkyn, and shall consider in detail the arguments—by which he seeks to maintain his positions. On pages 53, 54, these views are stated at length; and lest we should be thought to misapprehend him, he shall speak for himself.

“The constant and permanent presence of the saving power and influence of the Holy Spirit is in the word of truth. This influence is present in the Christian and in the Church, only as the Spirit's word; the fixed shrine of the Holy Spirit is possessed and held by them in its purity and in its entireness. Where the word is not, there the converting presence and the saving influences of the Holy Spirit are not. Where the word is introduced, there his presence and influences are introduced. Where the word is rejected or lost, there his presence and influences are lost. Whoever pretends to the influences and presence of the Holy Spirit without the word, or against the word, or beyond the word, is an impostor. In the word, the influence of the Holy Spirit is ever present without fluctuation, diminution, or uncertainty: present as surely and abidingly as magnetism in the loadstone, or light in the presence of the sun, or, to use scriptural metaphors, as vitality is in a seed, or the waters of salvation in a well. Where the word of God dwells in a church richly, there the developments of the presence and influences of the Holy Spirit are proportionably extended and numerous. Where, in a country or community, through abounding iniquity, the word has no place, there Ichabod might be inscribed, for the Divine influence, the glory, is departed. This awful fact does not consist in the presence of the Lord

forsaking the Shekinah, but in the Shekinah, the shrine and symbol of the presence, leaving a people. In the word itself, in the doctrines and duties, ordinances and institutions of the gospel, as in the ancient Shekinah, the presence of God, notwithstanding the conduct of men, is unaltered, fixed and permanent. It is here, then, the church must seek it, and not in frames and feelings, which are the mere vanes of all that is changing and transitory. While possessing the presence of the word, the church can, in the proper use of that word, infallibly calculate on the presence and saving agency of the Holy Spirit.

"The reader will please to bear in mind that we treat now of only the presence, or the seat of the presence and influences of the Holy Spirit, and not of their developments and manifestations. Magnetism is always present in the loadstone, but its development will take place only in certain combinations. Whoever will place the magnet in these combinations, and not otherwise, can always calculate on the influence being present and active. Vitality is always in the seed, and whoever will plant, or sow, that seed, and put it in combination with 'good ground,' may expect confidently that God will give the increase and renew the face of the earth. With the same certainty may the Christian church calculate on the converting presence and saving influence of the Holy Spirit being developed, wherever the word is, in the given combinations, 'mixed with faith in them that hear it.'

"It is with no small solicitude that I wish, by this section, to fix and rivet the attention of all inquirers for the presence of the saving influence of the Holy Spirit on the sacred word; to persuade them to forsake all other spheres of inquiry and research for it, and try the Holy Scriptures. *There* he is ever present. In this temple, He ever dwells. They who seek there shall find. 'Wherefore if they shall say unto you, Behold, he is in the desert, go not forth—behold he is in the secret chamber, believe it not.' Search the Scriptures, for in them ye find everlasting life; for in them abides the Spirit that giveth life."

We are not sure that we understand the author. What does he mean? Does he intend to say, as some of his language would indicate, that the Holy Spirit is present in the words and sentences of Scripture—the mere drapery in which truth is presented to the mind? If so, the seats of his abode will vary in number as copies of the Bible multiply or diminish; and we shall have before us the image of the Holy Spirit entering into every new copy of the Bible as it comes from the press, and forsaking every copy, that, by the hand of accident, or of time, shall perish. When the house is built, the tenant takes possession; and, when the tenement falls, the occupant must of course be houseless.

Does he mean, as we might infer from the use of other terms, that the Holy Spirit is present "in the doctrines and duties, the ordinances and institutions of the gospel?" But these may have an existence independent of, and apart from, any *description* of them given to us in language. They existed before they were described, and may exist after the sounds, which convey a knowledge of them to the ear, or the signs,

which convey a knowledge of them to the eye, shall have vanished away. The ordinances of baptism and the supper—*when administered*, exist apart from any description of them in the Bible. Any doctrine may exist in the ideal conceptions of our own minds. Is it in the doctrines as by us conceived, or in the institutions as administered, that the Spirit is present? If so, how is he present in the word? Can he be in both at once? If he is in both, are there not two seats or shrines of his abode, instead of one, as the author insists?

Then again, as we find it difficult to *locate* the seat or shrine of the Holy Spirit's presence, so we find it difficult to understand distinctly who, or what it is that dwells in this shrine. At one time, it is the "saving power and influence of the Holy Spirit;" at another, it is the "converting presence and saving influences of the Holy Spirit;" at still another, "the presence of God;" and, at yet another, "the Spirit that giveth life." With some of these designations before us, we think of mere attributes of the Spirit, his influences, his energies, things without personality, intelligence, or life. With others before us, we have in our minds the Holy Spirit in his own proper person and essence, the Third person in the adorable Trinity. Which of these two ideas does the author intend to convey?

The presence and saving power of the Holy Spirit is in the word of truth; be it so. We would like to be informed whether he dwells in all parts and portions of the word alike; whether he is present with equal plenitude in the historical as in the didactic portions; in the Psalms of David as in the letters of Paul; in the Book of Job as in the Revelation; in the account of the coronation of Solomon as in that of the crucifixion of Christ?

Suppose we commit to memory certain portions of Scripture; we then put the truths into our minds; we treasure them up in our thoughts. Have we thus put into our minds a fixed quantity of the influences of the Holy Spirit? Does he still adhere to his shrine or seat, and does he dwell in it, as it abides in our thoughts?

These are some of the difficulties which spring up in our minds as we contemplate the author's theory. They indicate the direction which our reflections took at the first reading, and we must say that the tenth and twentieth readings have failed to bring relief. We are perplexed; we are in mists and doubts. Had Dr. Jenkyn told us that the Holy Spirit is the *author* of revealed truth; in other words, that "all Scripture is given by inspiration of God," we could understand him. Had he told us that the word of God is contained in the

Scriptures, is the *instrument* which the Holy Spirit employs in performing his work of grace in men, we should not be at a loss as to the import of his statement; for we believe that "the sword of the Spirit is the word of God." If he had insisted that the truths of the gospel are clothed with authority, relate to the soul's undying interests, are calculated in their nature to awaken the most earnest attention—and so are *suited to man's moral nature, and admirably fitted* to be the instrument of the Holy Spirit, we could yield our heart's assent to his language. If, again, he had insisted that *truth is truth*, always, and everywhere, *truth*, and that the word of God, like himself, is "without variableness or shadow of turning," we would most gladly yield assent to the terms and spirit of the assertion. But when he affirms that the Holy Spirit is ever present in the word, he states a proposition to which, we frankly confess, we are able to attach no distinct idea. It is certain, however, that a man of Dr. Jenkyn's intelligence must have intended to convey *some ideas*; and we are quite sure that his forms of expression, and his modes of combining and stating terms, are calculated to give erroneous views of Scripture truth. If his *ideas* are not at fault, his *modes of stating* them may be.

With the patience of the reader pledged in our behalf, we shall follow Dr. Jenkyn with considerable minuteness in the course of argument by which he seeks to establish his main proposition, viz: that "the constant and permanent presence of the saving power and influence of the Holy Spirit is in the word of truth." Our object is to ascertain the value of that argument, and to point out what seem to us its defects.

I. His first argument is drawn out at length on pages 54 to 61. It is stated in the following words: "That the promised presence of the Holy Spirit is in the word, is evident from the description which our Blessed Lord gave of the Comforter." From the terms of this statement, it is manifest that the point to be made out is, that the promised presence of the Holy Spirit *is in the word*; not now that he is *constantly* and *permanently* there, but simply that he *is there*, *is in the word*. The word, as Dr. J. would say, is the *seat* and *shrine* of his presence. The *source* to which we are to repair for evidence is the description which our Blessed Lord gave of the Comforter. That description is couched in such terms as to permit, nay, require us to believe that the presence of the Holy Spirit *is in the word*. What, then, is the nature of that description? In what terms is it given to us?

For an answer to these questions, we agree with our author that we must repair "not to metaphysical theories concerning

Spirit, but to the mild, clear, and distinct revelation of Jesus Christ himself." On this subject Jesus Christ is our sole and authoritative teacher. "It is for the Holy Spirit as revealed by Jesus Christ himself, and not as pictured in theological systems, that we are to inquire." We agree also with Dr. J. in saying, that "In this description there is no revelation of the *essence* of the Holy Spirit, nor of the *mode* of his personal subsistence, nor of the *manner* of his agency. On these subjects Jesus Christ has revealed nothing; therefore it is in vain for us to look to his testimony for any information on such curious speculations. He has merely told us that the Third person is a Holy Spirit, a living personal agent, acting spontaneously, intelligently and freely; acting on minds, acting by means, and acting for the conversion of the world as a determinate end. On the subject of his relation to the church he has revealed nothing but the fact of his presence, the reality of his saving influences, the combinations in which they develop themselves, the ends for which they operate, and the responsibility of mankind under such influences." Let it be noted here, that if Dr. J. had borne in mind the import of these declarations, he would never, as it seems to us, have written this book. For the darling object of the book, as all must see, is to show not only "the fact of the Spirit's presence, the reality of his saving influences," &c., but to develop a theory of the *manner* of his presence in the church, a topic on which, according to his own concession, Jesus Christ has revealed nothing.

We are happy, moreover, to agree with our author in saying, that "the Lord Jesus Christ revealed the Holy Spirit—in the same sense and to the same extent as he revealed the Father." In the examples, however, which he gives of the gospel's revelation of the Father, and the comments which he makes on them, we think him singularly unfortunate. He tells us that when our Saviour said, God is a Spirit, it was not revealing and declaring the Father; for this statement merely announced a fact in the universe of existence, uninvested with moral character. "The eye cannot see and the mind cannot perceive Spirit, consequently nothing was revealed." Is this so? Did not Christ in this make a *revelation* to the woman of Samaria? Did he not assert this fact in contradistinction to some other fact, which, he saw, held sway in her mind? Is it no revelation of the Father to say that he is a Spirit in distinction from being matter?—for this, in effect, is what Christ said. Must a fact be invested with moral character in order to render its announcement a revelation? Nay, was not this fact invested with moral

character, that is to say, was it not such a character as to produce a moral effect on us? True, "the eye cannot see Spirit, nor can the mind perceive Spirit," that is to say, the mind cannot perceive the *essence* of Spirit, and yet the mind can perceive the truth conveyed by the proposition that God is a Spirit, and therefore *a revelation is made*.

Even more unfortunate do we esteem Dr. J. in the third example which he gives us of the manner in which the gospel reveals the Father. The example is this: "God dwelleth in you." "As this stands in the announcement," he goes on to say, "we have no conception of what it means, and can therefore scarcely regard it in itself as a revelation of the Father. In this obscurity, the Christian revelation gives us light. 'He that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God, and God in him.' Here then is a revelation of the Father that we can understand." To our minds, the first statement, "God dwelleth in you," makes known a fact, and because a fact is made known, a revelation, clear and decisive, is made. And whoever will study the connection in which it occurs, will find that the Apostle (1 John iv: 7—16) does not undertake to make an exposition of the mode or manner of the Divine dwelling in the saints, as Dr. J. supposes. No such thing. His exposition is one of evidence, not of manner, one of showing how we may know the *fact*, not the *method* of God's dwelling in us.

In reverting again to the gospel revelation of the Spirit, Dr. J. makes use of the following language, (p. 56,) "The Spirit revealed by Christ is not a personification of that divine energy which influences matter, nor of that divine favor which influences mind; but the Comforter of the New Testament is a distinct personal agent, who voluntarily influences others, and who produces and sustains moral character in them. He is a Spirit of Holiness—a Holy Spirit. It is not then the personal essence of the Comforter, but those moral attributes which belong to the Comforter, and which tend to effect and influence moral character in men, that we find declared in the revelation of Jesus Christ." It seems to us, that our author, in this last sentence, has virtually taken back a part of what he said in the first. In the former he said that, "the Comforter of the New Testament is a distinct personal agent." Why not let it be so? Why not let these truths constitute a part of the revelation which Christ made of the Comforter? It is true that Christ told us nothing about the composition of His essence; but he told us that His essence is a Spirit, a Holy Spirit, a personal, intelligent agent, voluntarily influencing others. Why does Dr. J. go on in the next breath to reduce

the revelation, simply to our embracing the moral attributes of the Comforter? These attributes we do indeed find revealed. We find more; Dr. J. himself says we find more. He seems to contradict himself. How can we separate these attributes from the living, personal agent to whom they belong?

Having shown thus the nature of the description which we may expect Jesus Christ will give us of the Comforter, our author goes on to say: "The attribute of character, in which this holy agent was promised to the disciples, was the Spirit of Truth." In Dr. Jenkyn's mind, every word of this is emphatic, especially the last four words, "The Spirit of Truth." These contain the pith of his argument. We wish he had gone into a minute exegesis, and developed their meaning. We wish he had shown us, by a reference to grammatical forms, the laws of language and the *usus loquendi*, in what sense Jesus used these words, and with reference to what offices or characteristics of the Comforter he denominated him "the Spirit of Truth." We wonder that he failed to perform a service so essential to the completeness of his argument, so necessary indeed to anything worthy the name of argument, for everything turns on the meaning which Christ attached to these words. We wonder the more, since Jesus, in the very connection in which he reveals the Comforter, has furnished us with all the materials of an accurate and satisfactory exposition. Why did he not make use of these, instead of hastening on to inform us in what manner he *supposes* the Holy Spirit, in accordance with Christ's promise, worked on the minds of the disciples at Pentecost?

The Saviour's revelation of the Comforter is found in chapters xiv., xv. and xvi. of the Gospel by John. The earliest record occurs at chapter 14; 16, 17, and as the reader will observe, embraces the following particulars: The Comforter is the Spirit of truth; he shall come in answer to Christ's intercession; he will be a perpetual gift to the church; and he will be recognized only by the saints. It is not here said that he will dwell in the word, but in the disciples. In the next record, 14: 26, we have the Comforter set forth as the Spirit of truth, sent in the name of Christ, and his office revealed as that of a teacher to the disciples, the revealer and interpreter of truth. The next record in order, 15: 26, adds but a single new fact to the above, viz: that Christ himself shall be the theme of the Comforter's testimony. By passing on to chap. 16: 7—15, we find the Comforter displayed before us as the Reprover of the world, the Reprover of sin, righteousness and judgment. He also stands clearly disclosed as the Revealer of

"things to come," things over and above what Christ himself had made known. The Comforter was not only to refresh the memory of disciples, and render clear to their understanding the words which Christ had spoken; but he was to go beyond Christ, as a teacher, and make large and original additions to his revelation of the things of the kingdom. The Comforter was not to act independently of, and apart from, the Father and the Son; he was to act in harmony with them; taking the things of the Father and the Son alike, and showing them to the disciples.

While the above passages are before us, we wish to set down distinctly the following particulars, as being plainly embraced in them:

1. The Comforter was promised to the disciples by Christ in more than one attribute of character, and therefore our author's language withholds the truth when he says—THE attribute of character in which this Holy Agent was promised to the disciples, was "the Spirit of Truth." As plainly and truly did Jesus promise Him in the attribute of *Holiness*.

2. The phrase "the Spirit of Truth" conveys to our minds more than the idea of an *attribute*. It includes, as most prominent, the idea of the Spirit's *personality*. It is used as synonymous with the Comforter;—"The Comforter," "even the Spirit of Truth." In this Dr. J. might agree with us, and he might not, for we find him using as synonymous expressions, the following:—"The Spirit of His Truth," (page 57, at the bottom,) "the Spirit of the Truth," (page 66, line 20.) Any one can see that in these cases, by the laws of good usage, Spirit might be used as a term descriptive of a quality or characteristic of truth, as well as truth a term descriptive of an attribute or office of Spirit. We call attention to this point, to guard against such use of the word.

3. It is evident that Jesus denominated the Comforter "the Spirit of Truth," not so much in relation to his character or attributes, as in relation to his office-work. Jesus had his mind not so much on what the Spirit *is*, as on what he *does*—not so much on his qualities, as on his achievements. Or if he spoke of an attribute of the Comforter, it was with particular reference to the office and the work for which that attribute fitted him. If the word truth, in this connection, bespoke the Comforter as being pre-eminently true, or pre-eminently wise, or possessed of divine knowledge in great measure, it was in reference to the part he was to take in making a revelation of the truth to the church and to the world. Dr. J. would therefore have spoken more to the point,

if he had said the *office* in which this Holy Agent was promised to the disciples, was the Spirit of Truth.

4. We ask, then, where there is one word in all this description of the Comforter, which gives any countenance to the sentiment that the promised presence of the Holy Spirit is in the word? We ask the intelligent reader, if there is anything here that can justify such a *form* of language? We can see nothing.

But Dr. J. tells us that this promise was fulfilled, at the given time, and in the given persons. The time was the day of Pentecost, and the persons were the three thousand converts of that memorable day. Let us follow him in his comments upon what then and there occurred. "The Lord Jesus Christ promised that the Holy Spirit, as the Spirit of Truth, should come to the disciples, and descend on them; coming and descending, as applied to the Holy Spirit, does not signify a change of place, but an evident manifestation of his influence in certain persons, and at certain times." Let every word of this statement be so, if you please. "On the day of Pentecost the *person* of the Holy Spirit did not come down on the Apostles, because it was not as the Spirit of Essential Deity that He was promised, but as the Spirit of Truth." Indeed! Did not come down! We have granted that, for he was already there; coming and descending, as applied to the Holy Spirit, signifies an evident manifestation of his influence in certain persons and at certain times, and not a change of place. The *person* of the Holy Spirit did not "make an evident manifestation of his influence, because it was not as the Spirit of Essential Deity that He was promised." This we do not grant by any means. The Holy Spirit, the Comforter, as we have seen above, was promised in his *person*, if he was promised at all. He was promised as the Spirit of Essential Deity in person. Indeed, we know not how to separate the idea of Essential Deity from the Comforter, in any of our conceptions of Him, or of His works. We can form no idea of any one of His attributes disconnected with His person and essence. If the Comforter was present at the day of Pentecost, by any of His attributes, he was present there in His person. These two things, His attributes and His person, we hold, must go together. "He, neither on that day, nor at any future period, made any personal appearance. His person, as we have seen, was neither in the sound of the rushing wind, nor in the cloven tongues of fire." And how, we might say to Dr. J., do you know all that? His essence was never seen, indeed; it could not be manifested to mortals,—but the mani-

festations of His personal, voluntary agency were numerous, and where these EXISTED, HE HIMSELF WAS. "He was to be seen and known in the same way as truth is to be seen and known, for it is as the Spirit of Truth that he was to be received." Not alone in the same way as truth is to be seen and known, was he to be seen and known, for he was seen and known by the sound of the rushing wind and the cloven tongues of fire; that is to say,—these were the products of his personal work, the vehicles of his manifestation. He was revealed, we repeat again, as the Spirit of Essential Deity, and the Saviour's description of the Comforter embraces, as most prominent, that idea. "As the Spirit of Truth," says Dr. J., "His operations on the Pentecost day were complicated, conducted partly in a manner miraculous and extraordinary, and partly in the manner in which they should be perpetually and ordinarily exemplified in the Christian Church. Besides unfolding and expanding to their minds every truth and every act pronounced and performed by Christ, the Holy Spirit communicated to them, by immediate access to their minds, new truths, which they were not able to bear under our Lord's personal ministry. The Holy Spirit influenced the minds of the *Apostles*, by inspiring into them new truths; but influenced the three thousand *converts*, only by the instrumentality of the truths delivered by the Apostles. The converts were not influenced by any new truths distinct from those of the Apostles." Here we have the whole business in a nut-shell, in a form, we doubt not, perfectly satisfactory to Dr. Jenkyn. We will then propose a question or two. As the Spirit of Truth, His operations on the day of Pentecost were partly miraculous. By immediate access to their minds, He communicated to the *Apostles* new truths. How was this? Was the Holy Spirit personally and essentially present and active in this instance? If not, how did he come into immediate contact with the Apostles' minds? In this instance, did he operate *by any word previously spoken*? If not, is it not plain that he may and does answer to this designation, "the Spirit of Truth," without the necessity of being *present in the word*? In other words, did not the promised Comforter exist as the Spirit of Truth at Pentecost *before* the word, *above* the word, and *out* of the word, and was he not then present as the Spirit of Essential Deity? "As the Spirit of Truth, his operations were conducted partly in the manner in which they should be perpetually and ordinarily exemplified in the Christian Church," partly by "unfolding and expanding to their (the disciple's) minds every truth and every act, pronounced and performed by Christ." Again, we ask, how was this?

Was this an instance of the ordinary mode of the Spirit's working? If it was, as seems here to be assumed, was He present in every word and every act pronounced and performed by Christ? If He was so present, how did he unfold and expand to their minds those words and acts which the disciples had *forgotten*, and how did He bring these to their remembrance? If it be said that He was present only in the *remembered* words and acts, then, we ask, was it not in the memory, the mind, rather than in the word, that he was present? "Every word, and every act." Indeed! Every *act*! Is the Spirit of Truth present in acts—in the acts of Christ? If so, there is more than one seat or shrine of His presence, and He may be seen and known in other ways than truth is seen and known. But the Holy Spirit "influenced the three thousand *converts*, only by the instrumentality of the truths delivered by the Apostles." Suppose we grant all this, which we certainly are not willing to do—does it follow that we are justified in saying that "the presence and saving power of the Holy Spirit is in the word of truth?" We cannot so see it.

Let us follow our author quite through this part of his argument. Having shown us, as he supposes, the manner in which the Comforter, in accordance with the Saviour's description and promise, fulfilled his mission at the Pentecost, he goes on to illustrate his theory by reference to another promise of the Spirit, made immediately on the eve of our Lord's ascension. The nature and extent of that promise is familiar to the reader, and need not be repeated. The account of its fulfilment is also well understood.

To make plain to our minds the manner in which the Holy Spirit operated on the minds of the Apostles, in fulfilment of this promise, Dr. J. brings forward the case of Elijah, and expatiates at considerable length on the manner in which his spirit was poured forth in the zealous ministrations of John the Baptist. In all this, as the reader can see by looking at pages 58 and 59, he draws partly from imagination and partly from facts. He supposes Elijah "to promise his disciples, that, some centuries after his translation, his spirit, as the Spirit of religious zeal, in order to influence and guide men to religious truth, should affect their minds in a very abundant measure, and should diffuse itself abroad in all the enlarged plentifulness of a shower." Right on the heel of this supposition, he adds as a matter of fact, "that in the course of centuries, the spirit of Elijah was poured forth to a very great extent, and with very great power in the zealous ministrations of John the Baptist." Now, in all this, Dr. J. misapprehends the facts as they

are brought to light in Scripture. We know of no language in the Bible to justify him in saying, that "in the latter part of the Scriptural History of the Jews, we do not know of any merely human spirit that exercised so powerful and so extensive an influence upon the spirit of the Israelites, as the spirit or soul of Elijah." We know of no language to justify us in saying, that "the spirit of Elijah was poured forth to a very great extent, and with very great power." There is no evidence that his spirit, as such, exerted any special influence. There is no evidence that his writings were read by John the Baptist, or by the Jews generally; there certainly can be no evidence that the promise of the outpouring of his spirit was read by them, for he made no such promise. John the Baptist came in the spirit and power of Elijah, that is to say, he came possessing and exhibiting a spirit and power very much like that which the old prophet manifested, so much so, indeed, that by the spirit of prophecy, he was denominated Elijah. In order to make out any parallel between this case and the one it is brought forward to illustrate, it must be *true* that Elijah made a promise that his spirit should be poured out in after time. *True*, that it was so poured out. *True*, that John the Baptist read and mused on that promise. *True*, that he found Elijah's spirit in that promise, and thence received it into his own mind. *True*, that through John's preaching, the spirit or soul of Elijah influenced the minds of the Israelites, and that a great revival of the religion of the Theocracy was the consequence. Where is the Scripture evidence that any of these things are true? Dr. J. acknowledges that "in an illustrious instance, an instance which constitutes the imperishable glory of the gospel, this analogy completely fails. In the revival of religion which took place under the Baptist, the spirit of Elijah did not exercise any spontaneous desire and personal agency." Indeed, he admits further, that in the contrasted cases the analogy fails in four particulars. "In the revival of John the Baptist, Elijah was not essentially present; but in the events of Pentecost the Holy Spirit was. In the preaching of John, Elijah exercised no personal will, or voluntary action; but in the ministry of the Apostles, the Holy Spirit did. In the conversions under the Baptist, Elijah was not conscious of exerting a power on the faculties of men; but in the conversions under the gospel the Holy Spirit is conscious, and wishes all men to be saved. The power of Elijah influenced the minds of John's converts only by the truths which John preached; the power from on high influenced the *converts* of Pentecost in the

same manner, though it influenced the apostles themselves immediately." Add to this, the fact stated above, that so far as we know the spirit or soul of Elijah did not exercise influence at all on John or his ministry ; and the analogy fails in every particular, and so can illustrate nothing, and confirm nothing.

When, therefore, in carrying out this parallel, (which in fact proves to be no parallel,) he shows us how it was in the case of the apostles at Pentecost, and through the apostles, in the case of the converts, his argument is based on a false foundation, a mere assumption. When he says, "the truth was there, and the Spirit of truth was there," he asserts what we most cordially believe. But when he asserts that "this blessed agent is never absent from the word ; he can exist without the word, but the word cannot exist without him," he declares what he has not proved, and what we do not believe. We believe that he can exist without the word, and that the word can, and does exist apart from, and independent of him. The Spirit of truth is not the word of truth, nor is the word of truth the Spirit of truth.

II. Dr. Jenkyn states his second argument as follows:— "That the presence of the Holy Spirit in the word is confirmed by the analogy of the Divine presence in the physical and providential government of the universe." Following this statement are several pages of amplification and illustration, which the reader can see by referring to pages 61-63 of the work. To reason conclusively and convincingly from analogy, the two cases must not only be analogous, but they *must be shown* to be so. We demand that the *points of likeness* be distinctly exhibited. In the case before us, it should be shown, first of all, *precisely in what sense* God is present in the physical and providential government of the universe, and it should be made manifest that the Holy Spirit is, *in the same sense*, present in the word. Or, if we have the Holy Spirit set before our minds, as being in a *specified sense*, present in the word, we desire it to be shown that God is, in the *same sense*, present in the laws of the universe. In other words, if the Spirit's administration of the truth is of such a nature as to justify us in saying that he is present in the word, we wish it made manifest that God's administration of his physical and providential government is of such a nature, as to justify us in saying that he is present in that government. Our author has not adequately addressed himself to this task. He declares, indeed, "that the agency of Spirit in the laws of mind is like the agency of God in the laws of matter." This may be true, and it may not be. It may be true in one sense,

and not in all senses. The likeness may fail at the very point necessary to the validity of this argument. Instead of merely asserting this, Dr. J. ought to have explained, limited and made good his assertion. "Both agencies," we are told again, "produce results by using means." If we grant that this is true in a certain sense, does it follow that it is true in all senses? In other words, does it follow that God's connection with the means in one instance, is *identically the same* as the Spirit's connection with means in the other—that God's operation by matter upon matter is *so like* the Spirit's operation by truth upon mind, that we can reason correctly from one to the other? This is what we wish to know—this the point to be made out. "The union between God and the universe," he goes on to say, "is cordially believed to be real and actual, without the supposition of his exercising a direct and immediate agency in the production of phenomena." But what is the nature of this union of God with the universe which is "cordially believed to be real?" Precisely at what point does he touch it? Exactly where and how is he in it? At the outset, we need something well defined here. Perhaps our author has given it. Let us see.

The sum of what he has set forth as true on this head is as follows: First, God, in his wisdom, has adjusted the agents and instruments of nature, as means adapted to an end. God works by means. He produced us by means of our parents; sustains us by means of food; warms us by means of heat. He does none of these things *immediately*, for in that case he would be the sole and unique doer of all things. Secondly, physical agents have an *efficiency* as means. Means possess an active energy. They act. Fire acts on fuel. Heat acts on ice. The magnet acts on the needle. Matter acts. If it does not act, if it has no influence, if it cannot operate towards an end, for what "good" is it? Electricity, galvanism, magnetism and the like, show that if the material creation be not alive, it is all active—brisk in energy and force, and prompt to obey its Maker's law. Thirdly, we must not, in our vain conceit, suppose that by the operation of *means*, the operation of *God* is rendered the less real or the less manifest and glorious. He is uninterruptedly in intimate contact with all second causes, supplying, maintaining and renewing their efficiency. "A work is not the less his because accomplished by means, for it is he that works the means. The consequent effect is as much his work, as the antecedent, and the final production as decidedly his work, as the primary one." In the following sentence all three of the above ideas are distinctly brought out. "In the influence

which the magnet throws upon the needle, there is an *efficiency* to produce effect, and in the phenomena God does not act *immediately* either on the needle influenced or on the magnet influencing; yet all is *his work*, his arrangement, his contrivance, his agency in a series of *means*." Here we have the use of means, which means are themselves sufficient, and yet God arranging all and supplying efficiency to all. This, if we understand him, is our author's theory of God as present in the physical and providential government of the universe, and to no part of it are we in this connection disposed to make exceptions.

Now then for the analogy. First, he asserts that "second causes are not limited to the material universe. Towards the production of psychological, intellectual, moral and spiritual phenomena, there are second causes of corresponding adaptations in active operation." Secondly: "Truth in the intellectual or moral department has an efficiency as real and as influential, and adapted for its end, as physical causes in nature." Thirdly: "If a system of second causes in physics does not exclude, but display the reality and power of Divine agency, it is evident that, in other departments of the universe, such as the work of the Spirit in conversion, the operation of second causes—is of the same character. In both cases the efficiency is a derived one, and it is derived from the First Cause."

Now what has Dr. J. made out? We confess that, so far as we can see, he has not even touched the point at issue. He has undertaken to prove, not indeed that truth, or the word of truth, has in itself a real efficiency, an adaptation as means to an end, but that "the presence and saving influence of the Holy Spirit is in the word." If we admit all that he says about means as adapted to ends, or the efficiency of second causes in the physical universe, and the corresponding efficiency of means as adapted to ends, or the efficiency of second causes, in the intellectual and moral world—what bearing does it all have on the proposition which he first laid down, and has all along been laboring to establish? We repeat, that he has not touched the point at issue, which is to show that God is present in the physical universe *in the same sense* as he claims that the Holy Spirit is present in the word, and therefore that it is legitimate to reason from one to the other.

Indeed, if Dr. J. has made out anything by his supposed analogy, it is rather against than for him. In the case of the material universe God works by means. So in the religious and intellectual world. In the case of the material, universal means have an efficiency of their own, an efficiency as

means suited to an end, an efficiency *per se*; in which means God is not himself present and active; for if he were, he would be the sole and unique doer of all things. "He is uninterruptedly in intimate contact with all second causes, supplying, maintaining, and renewing their efficiency." We do not know that we get the precise idea of the author; but if we do, God himself is represented as apart from, and external to the means, maintaining and supplying them with their efficiency. The analogical truth then must be, that in the moral and religious world means have an efficiency of themselves. They are efficient *per se*. The Holy Spirit is in uninterrupted and intimate contact with, not *in* them, and he supplies them with efficiency. He seems to prove, if anything, the very thing which he wished to disprove. The most that he has accomplished is to show the adaptation of means to ends, both in the material and in the moral worlds.

III. Dr. Jenkyn's third argument is derived from the testimony of the Scriptures themselves, and is thus stated: "The manner in which the inspired writers speak of the word and of the Holy Spirit, obviously implies that they regard the Holy Spirit as ever present in the word." This is the most important part of the argument, and we shall therefore follow the author step by step in his appeal to the Scriptures, first presenting passages with his comments, and then appending such remarks of our own as each case may demand.

"Psalm 33: 6. 'By the word of the Lord the heavens were made, and all the hosts of them by the Spirit of his mouth.' Here, I conceive, the Psalmist alludes not to the third person in the Trinity, but to the exercise and active efficiency of the Divine energy. He evidently intends 'the word of the Lord' and 'the Spirit of his mouth' to mean the same thing. Had we read 'the Spirit of the Lord' and 'the word of his mouth,' the meaning would have remained unchanged. The influence that produced the universe was *in* the command—in the word. It was not the word that formed the heavens, but the energy to which the word was the vehicle. The energy did not operate to produce the creation without the word, nor would the word have acted without the presence of the energy of the Lord. In our estimate of this magnificent product, we never think that the intervention of the instrumentality of the word of fiat was any derogation from the glorious energy of the Supreme Agent." Page 64.

Of this passage and the comments made on it, we have the following things to say :

1. There is no reference whatever made here to our Scriptures; to the word of truth as contained in the Bible, in which it is claimed that the Holy Spirit is ever present, and about which the whole controversy is waged. The sole reference is

to a word spoken when God created the world, and the case is not relevant.

2. There is, as Dr. J. admits, no reference to the "Third Person in the Trinity;" none therefore to the work of the Holy Spirit, through the truth, on the hearts of men. There is here, then, nothing to our purpose.

3. Dr. J. misstates the meaning of the passage, as we conceive. By Spirit in the last clause of the text is not meant "energy" or "efficiency," but merely breath. It is the breath and not the energy of the mouth of the Lord.

4. If this case were entirely relevant to the case in hand, it does not declare that the Spirit is present in the word. It is Dr. J. who declares this. All that the text says is this: "By the word of the Lord the heavens were of old, and all the host of them by the Spirit (breath) of his mouth;" a sentiment not unlike that contained in another passage: "He spake, and it was done; he commanded, and it stood fast." Such is God's power that he had only to speak, and the heavens were made; he had only to breathe, and the hosts of them came forth. The sacred writer had not the remotest idea of teaching us anything about the seat or vehicle of the Divine energy.

5. If we grant what Dr. J. says, viz: that the Psalmist "evidently intends the word of the Lord and the Spirit of his mouth to mean the same thing; had we read 'the Spirit of the Lord' and 'the word of his mouth,' the meaning would have remained unchanged," then it follows, for aught we can see, that the Spirit, instead of being in the word, is the word itself, and, *vice versa*, the word is the Spirit. To our minds, this is as fair a conclusion as the other.

6. Can our author tell us whether the Spirit or energy of God is still in the word by which he created the heavens?

"Isaiah 11:4. He will smite the earth with the rod of his mouth, and with the breath [Spirit] of his lips will he slay the wicked."

The reader will observe the word "Spirit" inserted in brackets after the word "breath," which gives the author's interpretation, but plainly a false one. Breath is the true word, and the passage is a declaration showing us the facility with which God can and does accomplish his ends. Besides, the passage has no reference at all to the word of Scripture truth, or to the Holy Spirit, and can therefore bear no testimony whatever on the subject in hand.

"Of the same class are Isaiah 34:16. Prov. 1:23."

Indeed, in one sense they are of the same class with the foregoing, viz: in that they say not one word about the Scriptures of truth and the Holy Spirit, and bear no reference therefrom to the subject in hand. The first one runs thus: "Seek ye out of the book of the Lord and read; no one of these shall fail, none shall want her mate, for my mouth it hath commanded, and his Spirit, it hath gathered them. And he hath cast the lot for them, and his hand hath divided it unto them by line; they shall possess it forever; from generation to generation shall they dwell therein." By the mouth of the prophet God had denounced judgment upon his enemies, particularly upon Bozrah, the chief city of Idumea. He had foretold its overthrow and complete destruction. He had declared that being deserted by men, it should become a dwelling-place for birds and beasts of prey. (Ver. 11—15.) This done, the prophet goes on to declare the certainty of the prediction, and the minuteness with which it shall in every part be fulfilled. When the events predicted shall have occurred, then "Seek ye out of the book of the Lord and read." Compare the fact with the prediction, and you shall find that not one word of it hath failed, not one prediction shall want its counterpart. Why? What is the basis of this certainty? "For my mouth, it hath commanded" all these things, "and his Spirit, it hath gathered them together,"—set these predictions in order. And "he hath cast the lot for them (the beast and birds) and he hath divided it (the land or city) unto them by line. Now it is evident that "my mouth" did one thing, and "his Spirit" did another—"he" himself another, and "his hand" still another. If mouth and Spirit are identical in the sense that Spirit is in the mouth, or in the word of the mouth, why are not Spirit and hand identical, and so the Spirit present in the hand equally as in the mouth? It is plain that the passage has no such meaning as the author supposed, and if it had, it could only teach us that the energy of God, in a particular instance, accompanied the command of God: not that the Third Person in the Trinity, the Holy Spirit, is present in the word of truth recorded on the inspired page. We ask Dr. J. if the energy of God is still in the word of command according to which Bozrah was destroyed, and for centuries became an utter desolation?

The other text referred to reads thus: "Turn you at my reproof. Behold I will pour out my Spirit unto you. I will make known my words unto you." Spirit here doubtless means, not the Third Person in the Trinity, but the mind or will of God as communicated by language. I will impart my

mind or will unto you. I will make known my words unto you. If we concede, what we are very willing to do, that, in this instance, "Spirit" and "word" mean essentially the same thing, it is only admitting that the mind of God is the same as the word of God; or if you please, that the mind of God is contained in the word of God; a very different thing from saying, according to the author's acceptation, that the Holy Spirit is present in the word.

"2 Sam. 23: 2, 3. 'The Spirit of the Lord spake by me, and his word was in my tongue.' Here David alludes to the Holy Spirit, by whose influence and inspiration he spake. The 'Spirit of the Lord' and 'his word' are identified."

There can be no doubt that the doctrine of inspiration is here brought to light. This we are happy to believe and glad to concede. David spoke under a special Divine influence. Perhaps Dr. J. would have no objection to our applying to this case his own language relative to the disciples at Pentecost, and saying that the Holy Spirit communicated to David "*by immediate access to his mind*," truths which he had not before known. To our apprehension, this is the full and the only meaning of the words and phrases before us, an instance of the *miraculous* and not of the ordinary mode of the Spirit's work. It is then not relevant to the case in hand.

Besides, Dr. J. mistakes the grammatical construction of the passage when he says: "The Spirit of the Lord and his word are identified." The "Spirit of the Lord" is the essential person of the Godhead, the Third Person in the Trinity; and so much Dr. J. himself says in the preceding sentence. "Here David alludes to the Holy Spirit, by whose influence and inspiration he spake." Is then "his word," that is, the word of the Holy Spirit, by the mouth of David identified with the Holy Spirit himself? Had the author said that each part of this sentence declares *essentially*, or even *identically*, the same truth, he would have spoken more correctly. "The Spirit of the Lord spake by me, and his word was in my tongue." It was his, the Spirit's, word that I spake. Would it be the meaning of David to say, The Spirit of the Lord spake by me, and the Spirit of the Lord was in my tongue, or, I spake the Spirit of the Lord? We suppose not. Moreover, if, as Dr. J. affirms, "the Spirit of the Lord and his word are identified"—then the Spirit of the Lord is his word, and his word is the Spirit of the Lord. Is he prepared for such a statement as this? Indeed, this passage proves more conclusively that the

Spirit of the Lord is essentially present in the prophets than it does that he is present in his word.

"Neh. 9:30. 'Many years didst thou forbear them, and testifiedst against them by the Spirit in the prophets.' The ministry of the prophets is here supposed to be the seat and medium of the presence and activity of the Holy Spirit."

Why not rather say, which certainly the phraseology much more readily countenances, that the prophets themselves are here supposed to be the seat and medium of the presence and activity of the Holy Spirit? No doubt the doctrine of inspiration is here taught.

"Micah 2:7. 'Is the Spirit of the Lord straitened? Are these his doings? Do not my words do good to him that walketh uprightly?' To propose the first question in this passage with reference to the person of the Holy Spirit would have been absurd, for he is as unlimited as he is invisible. Here then the 'Spirit of the Lord' is identified with 'his doings' and 'his words,' which were the manifestations of his energy and influence."

How can the person of the Holy Spirit be separated from the Holy Spirit himself? Is the Spirit identified with his *doings* as well as with his words? We thought that he was in the word *only* and *always*; and that he who seeks for him out of the word, or above the word, or beyond the word, is an impostor. But here we have him present in "his doings."

"This train of deduction is further strengthened, by the manner in which the New Testament writers quote the Scriptures of the Old Testament. They seem to have considered the word and the Spirit of God as identified. 'Wherefore the Holy Ghost saith, this day since ye hear his voice,' &c. (Heb. 3:7.) 'The Holy Ghost thus signifying.' (Heb. 9:8.) 'Let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches.' (Rev. 3:22.) 'The Spirit and the bride say come.' (Rev. 21:17.) In all these, and some other passages, the 'Holy Ghost' and 'the Spirit' mean the Scripture Revelation by prophets and apostles." P. 65.

In all these, and similar cases, the "Holy Ghost" and "the Spirit" do not mean the Scripture revelation by prophets and apostles. They mean the Holy Ghost, the essential, spiritual, eternal, invisible Person of the Godhead; and they mean him, speaking through the prophets and apostles by the medium of language: and, to our apprehension, no forms of speech could more carefully distinguish a communication from the person who makes it than do these the Person of the Spirit from the medium by which he makes his will known to men.

Perhaps we have followed the author far enough on this part of the subject. We have noticed all the passages which he

formally adduces in support of his theory. He does, indeed, go on further to argue, that the "infinite importance and transcendent worth ascribed to the Scriptures," "the reverence and the homage" which are always due to them, the answer of Abraham to Dives, in the place of torment, and the juxtaposition of the injunctions, "quench not the spirit" and "despise not prophesyings," are based on the principle of the Holy Spirit being ever present in the word. It were easy to show that all these things rest upon, and grow out of the fact, that the Scriptures are the word of God—that they contain his will to man—are sufficient to give us instruction on all subjects where we need it—are adapted to our moral and intellectual natures, and admirably suited to be the means employed by the Holy Spirit for our regeneration and sanctification. The Scriptures are always the word of God, and they never lose their character as such. Thence their importance,—the reverence due them—the injunction not to despise them, and the answer from Abraham to Dives concerning his brethren. We have, therefore, no need of recourse to the figment of Dr. J's imagination that the Holy Spirit is present in the word.

IV. We pass, then, to his last proposition, which is thus laid down: "The various phenomena resulting from the relations between Scriptural truth and the wants of man, are in full harmony with the statement that the word is the perpetual seat and constant medium of the presence and the influences of the Holy Spirit." His object, as will at once be seen, under this head, is not to show, by direct argument, that "the word is the perpetual seat and constant medium of the presence and influences of the Holy Spirit," but that the fact thus stated, and supposed to be proved, by former argument, harmonizes with the various phenomena resulting from the various relations between Scriptural truth and the minds of men. If this harmony is made to appear, the conclusion will be legitimate, that the supposed truth is a real truth. This being so, it will be seen, at a glance, that, to render it conclusive, three points should be well guarded. First, the phenomena, which Dr. J. adduces, must be real phenomena, facts well established by Scripture and the experience of Christian men. We wish to seek harmonies for no phenomena that do not exist. Secondly, we shall wish to be made sure that these various phenomena do not harmonize equally well, and even better with some other theory of the Spirit's operation than the one which the author advocates. If we can refer the facts to other causes—if we can explain the phenomena by a reference to other

theories than Dr. J's, then his mode of argument is plainly not conclusive. Thirdly, it is essential to the strength and conclusiveness of the reasoning that our author's theory should harmonize with *all* the phenomena resulting from the relation between Scriptural truth and the minds of men. He must not be at liberty to select some and leave others. His theory must account satisfactorily and convincingly for all the facts in the case, otherwise it is not true. Bearing in mind these fundamental principles, we will proceed to notice some of the author's phenomena, and his method of treating them. His first is found in the phrase employed by Paul concerning Christ's "dwelling in the heart by faith." We quote from our author:

"It means that Christ is present in us by what we believe concerning him. Christ or the Holy Spirit dwells in our hearts just as any other person might be there, as Rachel was in the heart of Jacob, as an absent child in the heart of a mother, and as Paul had his early converts in his heart. In such instances it is never supposed that their essential persons were in such hearts; but that the personal mind, character, and dispositions of such individuals were influencing the heart by truths believed and entertained concerning them. This belief did not consist merely in right and accurate notions of these persons, but in a due estimate, and cordial approbation of the truths which revealed their character. It is in the same manner that the Holy Spirit dwells in our hearts by the truths believed concerning him." * * * "The belief in the forementioned instances is productive of phenomena, psychological, mental, and moral; and these were produced not by the truths themselves, but by the persons whose characters animated these truths, and gave them their energy." P. 67.

To all this we are constrained to say, that the author's instance is somewhat at fault. It is a borrowed case. It is a phenomenon about Christ and not about the Holy Spirit. It is Christ that the apostle speaks of as dwelling in the heart by faith, and not the Holy Spirit. It will be time enough to seek harmonies for a fact when we have one. But taking it for granted that the Holy Spirit does dwell in the heart by faith, and that he so dwells by the truths believed concerning him, may not this phenomenon be equally in harmony with the theory that the truths concerning the character, offices, and work of the Holy Spirit are truths—truths of which he is independent, and from which he is disjoined; and yet, through which, he works in the heart both to will and to do of his good pleasure. We cannot see why the truths concerning him cannot be believed without supposing him to be present in these truths.

The next case for which Dr. J. finds a sole and sufficient explanation in his theory, is the well known fact, that there

are instances in which the Holy Spirit is resisted. "These instances prove that, though there cannot be any holy effects without the presence of the Holy Spirit, yet, it is demonstrable that he may be really present when no such effects are manifested." Now, we grant the fact here stated. We grant, moreover, that the Spirit may be really present when no holy effects are produced; in other words, the absence of holy effects is not always proof of the absence of the Holy Spirit. But does this determine any thing definite as to the residence of the Holy Spirit? Does it determine any thing at all in relation to the seat and shrine of his abode? Dr. J.'s theory, if true, might be a satisfactory account of the matter, but by no means the sole account of it. It harmonizes with the doctrine, that truth is truth; and the Holy Spirit the agent who wields that truth, in influencing the moral powers of man. It should be carefully noted, moreover, that while the author's theory may be in harmony with this phenomenon, there is another phenomenon "resulting from the connection between Scripture truth and the minds of men," with which it is far from harmonizing. This other phenomenon Dr. J. misstates; or, rather, he brings forward another and false one in its place, as we understand it. We quote his words:

"As far as my experience and reading avail me, it appears, that all Christians believe, that the influences of the Spirit, though ever present in the word, will develop themselves only in certain and adjusted combinations of mind and conscience.

* * * * * The Christian does not expect the influences of the Holy Spirit, present in the word, to develop themselves in the presence of 'the gall of bitterness,' 'the bonds of iniquity,' 'the seeking of the praise of men,' the love of the 'rewards of unrighteousness,' the neglect of prayer, and the contempt of the word." P. 68.

No man was ever more mistaken. A large part of the Christian world do expect that the Holy Spirit will develop his influences in presence of just such things as these. By the instrumentality of truth he enters the heart where all these are, and eradicates them; if not so, we hesitate not to say, that no sinner would ever be saved; for these are only the fruits of that depravity which has its abode in all unrenewed hearts. Either he does this, and so saves us; or we eradicate them ourselves, before his work begins, and so save ourselves. But he works in us both to will and to do of his good pleasure. It is this phenomenon that the author overlooks, or rather distorts, in order to make his theory harmonize with it. With it, as it stands recorded in the word of God, and has been developed in every case of genuine conversion, from

Saul of Tarsus to this day, his theory has no harmony, and is therefore not true.

"It is a lamentable and awful fact," we are told again, that men may know the Scriptures and the means of grace, and not derive from them the influences of the Holy Spirit which they contain." Here, again, the phenomenon is at fault. It will be seen at once that the statement embraces, as true, the very thing in controversy. If he had said, it is a lamentable and awful fact, that men may have the Scriptures and the means of grace without being saved, or deriving from them the benefits they were designed to impart, we should not hesitate to agree with him. Surely this fact is in harmony with another and better view of the Spirit's mode of operation.

"In the history of the ministration of the word there are innumerable instances in which some faithful ministers of the Gospel have been more successful than others; able preachers have succeeded but painfully little, the successful minister of one season has proved unsuccessful at another, and the most unlikely agent has been honored with the most signal success." Here is another phenomenon; and we are taught by our author to "trace our unsuccessfulness in every case to ourselves and our hearers—and never to the Holy Spirit." He is ever present in the word, and never sovereignly withdraws his influences. Let it be so, for a moment. Let the fact in question, our want of success, be ever attributed to the one cause affirmed: a failure on our part or that of our hearers. What then shall we do with another phenomenon, viz: *our success?* Is that attributable to us and our hearers? Must it not be so, on the author's theory? The Spirit is always present in the word in a fixed and unvarying quantity. If, then, we fail in our ministry, we are at fault—if we succeed, the praise is ours. Is this according to the Scripture? Is not our success wholly attributable to the Holy Spirit? Does he not sometimes work and sometimes withhold working? Dr. Jenkyn's theory may harmonize with our *want of success*, but it does not harmonize with our *success*. We therefore believe it to be false.

We are now done with the course of argument by which the author seeks to maintain his views. It had been our original design to notice also some of the uses which he makes of them, and seek to turn back the blows which he levels at the very foundations of the Gospel. But our space is fully occupied, and we rest the matter here.

ART. V.—ADMINISTRATIONS OF WASHINGTON AND ADAMS.

BY WILLIAM GREENE, ESQ.,

Cincinnati, Ohio.

Considerations upon the Nature and Tendency of Free Institutions.
By FREDERICK GRIMKE. Cincinnati: H. W. Derby & Co.
New-York: A. S. Barnes & Co. 1848.

A Disquisition on Government, and a Discourse on the Constitution and Government of the United States. By JOHN C. CALHOUN. Edited by Richard K. Cralle. Published under the direction of the State of South Carolina. Columbia, S. C.: Printed by A. S. Johnston. 1851.

The Works of John Adams, Second President of the United States. With a Life of the Author, Notes and Illustrations. By his Grandson, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS. Boston: Charles C. Little & James Brown. 1850.

The History of the United States of America. By RICHARD HILDRETH. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1851.

THE four works at the head of this article are important additions to our political literature. The first is a thoroughly studied and fine analysis of the principles of free institutions, with a frequent and felicitous application of our American experience in illustration of them. It is evidently the production of a mind of the highest order, admirably disciplined by exact, philosophical habits of study, and guided by clear and strong powers of reasoning. It has been some three or four years before the public, though, as yet, but little known—probably from the fact, that no particular pains have been taken to give it a general circulation. Its author, though for many years a shining light in the highest departments of the Judiciary of Ohio, is yet a man of retired habits, and evidently satisfied that whatever of attention shall be given to his work, shall depend upon no adventitious aids, but rest solely upon its own merits. These, we are quite sure, will one day make it universally known, and its author will be acknowledged as one of the wisest and largest contributors to the Political Philosophy of his age.

Of the second,—Mr. Calhoun's works,—we have, as yet, but a single volume. This presents two parts: a *Disquisition upon Government*, and a *Discourse on the Constitution and Government of the United States*. The *DISQUISITION*, with the exception of a few elementary suggestions connected with the foundation of all government, is devoted almost entirely to the author's ideas of what constitutes a true constitutional government, as contradistinguished from an absolute one—making the whole to depend upon the distinction between numerical and concurrent majorities. The *DISCOURSE* is but little more than a communication of the author's well known and peculiar notions of the proper character of the American government, as formed by the application of the principles of the *Disquisition*; and hence, to those who have long been familiar with Mr. Calhoun's public career, and are posted up in the views he has, from time to time, presented in his Senatorial speeches and published letters during the last twenty years, this first volume of his works will be found to contain nothing new. Upon a particular topic of this volume, and in connection with Mr. Grimke's work, we shall have occasion to make some remarks in a subsequent part of this article.

Of the third work,—*The Life and Works of John Adams*,—of which, by the way, we are as yet without the first volume, we have, besides his diary, but little more than a republication of papers, essays and letters, which, in other and separate forms, have been already before the world some fifty or sixty years. In saying this, we do not mean to undervalue the present publication. The diary, certainly, is full of entertainment and instruction, in the highest degree valuable, as discussing, in almost every page, the principles of action that formed the character and guided the life, private and public, of one of the most remarkable men of the last hundred years. The republication of productions, already to be found in every well-ordered American library, has, in the present form, the recommendation of unity and compactness, which cannot fail to promote a more general reading, and to insure a more profitable understanding of them. The “*Defence of the American Institutions*,” particularly, has, for many years, had quite too much the character of obsoleteness for a work of so much intrinsic worth. We may feel quite sure now, that this will be more generally known and read than heretofore; and this cannot be the case, without rendering a large service to political science, by disseminating some of the profoundest and truest views of it.

It is to some leading particulars, in the last of the four works

we have enumerated—Mr. Hildreth's *History of the United States*—that, on the present occasion, we would invite the special attention of our readers. We have, in the two volumes now before us, a well written, truthful and clear statement, of the principal incidents of the administrations of Washington and the elder Adams. To the history of the first of these administrations, of which we had already a very complete general idea, in the works of Marshall and Pitkin, Mr. Hildreth has added much that is new and valuable in detail. Of the administration of the elder Adams, the work before us may fairly be said to be the first proper and elaborate history that has been written. We commend both the volumes to the favorable regard of our readers; and without further special notice of the books themselves, we propose to give an account of some of the topics recorded in them—and, first, of the administration of Washington.

We begin, by a very natural reference to the difficulties and embarrassments that must necessarily have attended the outset of a government, novel in its form and in many of its leading principles; and, of course, without any certain light of a parallel history, to give certainty to the measures that should ensure its success. Such a work must have much of the character of a new creation;—requiring a sort of intuitive wisdom to give it a right direction; and an uprightness and firmness much above the demands of ordinary life, to give it the needful confidence and force. In addition to difficulties thus intrinsic and domestic, the foreign relations of the country were full of embarrassing encroachments, handed over, in several leading particulars, by the Congress of the Confederation, to be adjusted by the first administration under the new constitution. That all these untoward circumstances were bravely encountered and successfully overcome, was a test, at once, of the strength of the new government, the character of the people who so readily conformed to it, and the wisdom and virtue of the rulers, to whom, by a good Providence, the powers of administration were first committed.

In order to a methodical statement of what we propose to offer upon the administration of President Washington, we shall shape our thoughts to what we believe the three distinguishing features of it.

First: the establishment of the public credit.

Second: the foreign relations upon which, in the progress of events, the government was called upon to act.

Third: certain constitutional questions of deep and permanent interest, of which the exigencies of the times demanded the discussion and decision.

I. Perhaps the most important measure of Washington's administration was the establishment of the public credit, by the funding of the public debt incurred by the Confederation, and the assumption of the debts incurred by the several States, in support of the Revolutionary War. The first was divided into foreign and domestic. The foreign, it was agreed on all hands, should be provided for, according to the strict letter of the contract;—but not so with the domestic—a discrimination was proposed against this, on the ground that present holders had become possessed of it for a song; and that hence, a full payment of it would be as unreasonable towards them, as it would be unjust towards the original creditors. The objection obviously referred to the merits of the individuals interested, thus giving but a temporary importance to the measure, and not to any just principle of national interest; the effect of which, according to a present decision of the question, might reflect well or ill upon the character of the government through all after time. The measure was supported upon the broad ground of abstract obligation to fulfil a contract, whoever might be the claiming parties for the time being. If original holders of the debt had sacrificed it, for whatever cause, it was their misfortune. If others, their assignees, perhaps in the twelfth degree, were to be benefited by the provision for the payment of the debt, it was in the course of dealing among men, in which a large compensation, perhaps, would be received for a hazard, which, at the time of any given assignment, might have involved the greater probability of a total loss to the assignee. The debt was not the less a debt—the promise to pay not the less a promise to pay, though the individual to whom it was first contracted had seen proper to place another individual in his stead, in the ultimate realization of it—and it was the promise to pay that created the obligation; that could not cease but with the redemption of the promise, to whosoever advantage such redemption might enure. The measure, after long and virulent opposition, was finally triumphantly sustained; and thus was the outset of our great experiment signalized by a transaction which gave a sacredness to the public faith of the nation, the benefits of which have been incalculable through all its subsequent history; and the want of which, as the effect of a different decision of that great question, might, long ere this, have thrown the country back to a condition far worse than that from which the revolutionary struggle had redeemed it.

The assumption of the revolutionary debts of the individual States, presented a different question, and was made to stand upon quite different ground. The principle of a national

public faith did not directly apply to the debts of the several States. The faith of the States implicated was all that was pledged. The redemption of this pertained nominally to them, and not to the confederacy; and hence, the assumption proposed must be merely a gratuity, so far as the direct obligation of a contract was concerned. On this ground, necessarily, was the assumption opposed. On the other hand, it was maintained that the expenditures of the States in the conduct of the war, whether of their own or borrowed means, were for the common benefit of the whole confederacy; and that hence, the charge should be to a common account. It was further maintained, that though if the States had remained in their independent several conditions, they might not, with propriety, have demanded an equitable apportionment of the costs of the war; yet a constitution for a general government of all the States in one body having taken from the States individually the most appropriate means of revenue with which to provide for their revolutionary debts, it was necessary that the burden of discharging them, if discharged at all, should be a charge upon the new government. Thus a principle of necessity in regard to the needful means, was united with the principle of justice as regarded the net claims and benefits of the parties in the question; and the measure of assumption, after a long and desperate struggle, with the further accidental aid of an element entirely foreign, was finally carried. The element referred to was an arrangement by which the Potomac River was agreed upon for the permanent location of the seat of the national government—an arrangement by which two or three Virginia and Maryland votes, before opposed, were now brought over to the measure—the first instance, it is believed, and it were desirable it had been the last, in the history of American legislative “log rolling.”

The account thus briefly given is believed to comprehend the whole substance of the question of the celebrated funding system. The measure throughout was Hamilton's; as forever, with all parties, will be the glory of it. We say, all parties now; for though opposed at the time with a virulence which, in the germination of parties, is felt to this day, and will, in that bearing, continue to be felt through all the future of the Republic, there is yet, at this time, no man or body of men, who would be thought sane, should they for a moment question the wisdom, the justice, or the policy of that transcendently important measure—the “funding of the public debt.”

One most serious consequence, in the course of three or four years, followed the assumption of the state debts, which

should not be overlooked, whether in reference to the fact as historically connected with the measure, or as furnishing a lesson in the practical workings of our government, which may not be without permanent and valuable uses in its teachings to discontented States. We allude to what is generally known as the "whiskey insurrection in Pennsylvania." That occurrence arose directly from the excise law; imposing, among other things, a duty upon domestic spirits, for the express and avowed purpose of providing the needful means to pay the interest on the debt as funded from the States. The ordinary revenues of the government, from the established impost system, were insufficient for any extraordinary occasion of public disbursement. Hence, there was a necessity, either of an increase of the duties on imports, or of a direct tax, or of an internal duty of some sort upon the chattel interests of the country. The first two of these expedients were passed over by general consent. The last alone remained; and in acting upon it, domestic spirits, for various reasons, moral and political, were determined upon, as the article upon which the required duty should be laid. The measure bore heavily upon particular portions of the country—especially North Carolina and Western Pennsylvania. The whiskey insurrection, in the latter region, was the consequence. The occasion was full of interest and apparent peril to the permanence of our national system. The remedy applied, however, in the application of the national power to the case, was thoroughly effective, and fully proved that the government had not less of strength for its own conservation against sectional resistance to its laws, than it had of virtue in the administration, which, in this particular instance, was found equal in courage and decision to the emergency.

II. The foreign relations of the country, particularly with Spain, England and France, were full of exciting and even perilous interest, during the greater part of the administration of Washington. With the first, Spain, we had the long pending questions of the northern boundary of Florida and the navigation of the Mississippi. These subjects had remained unadjusted, so far as Spain was concerned, at the peace of '83. They had formed the topics of discussion between Mr. Jay and the government at Madrid, before the close of the Revolutionary War. Dishonorable concessions, demanded by Spain as the condition of assisting Mr. Jay in the payment of bills drawn on him by the Congress of the Confederation, prevented their adjustment at that time. Negotiations were renewed between the Spanish minister and the government of the Confederation

in this country, after the peace of '83, and before the adoption of the present constitution, but without success, and the whole difficulty remained unsettled, and a constant source of irritation and trouble upon our southern and south-western borders, until October, '95, when the boundaries were settled, and the navigation of the Mississippi substantially secured, by the negotiations of Thomas Pinckney, our minister at Madrid.

With England, several of the most essential articles of the treaty of '83 remained to be carried out. Each party charged delinquency upon the other. The short comings of each had been mutually urged for some fifteen years, as the excuse for a mutual disregard of the most important and solemn treaty obligations. Mr. Adams's mission to England from the government of the Confederation, sought at once the settlement of these difficulties and the negotiation of a commercial treaty. Our claims on England for the delivery up of the western posts and for the compensation for negroes, abducted during the war of the Revolution, were met by counter claims of the payment to British merchants of American debts, and of indemnity to Tories whose property had been confiscated during the revolutionary contest. No satisfactory basis of adjustment was presented on either side. The proposition of a commercial treaty was evaded by the British government, on the ground of inability on the part of the Confederation, for the want of a united government in the States, to carry out any stipulations it might make. Mr. Adams's mission proved entirely fruitless; and after a residence in England of some two or three years, he returned. Negotiations equally fruitless were renewed with Mr. Hammond, the British minister to this country, after the adoption of the constitution; but nothing was effected in any of the high matters between the two powers until the treaty of Mr. Jay, in 1794. Of this treaty, and the inducements to it, we shall have occasion to speak again.

Our relations with France were entirely amicable during the whole period of Washington's first term. It was only at about the commencement of the second, that the French revolution, by the destruction of the monarchy and the establishment of a republic, gave to these relations an entirely new character. The organization of the Directory in France, was immediately followed by a declaration of war against England. Our important maritime relations with both these powers, would, under any circumstances, have made a war between them of special interest to us. But there were treaty stipulations between us and France, calculated to embarrass the action of our government upon the question of neutrality. The

treaty of 1778 stipulated, on our part, a guaranty to France of her West India possessions. That, however, was a treaty only of *defensive* alliance; and hence, the war in which France was engaged being *offensive* on her part, the *casus foederis* was decided by government not to have arisen, and hence the celebrated proclamation of neutrality by Washington, a measure of the greatest practical wisdom at the time, but immeasurably important, as establishing a principle in relation to any gratuitous interference on our part with the affairs and embroilments of other nations, which explains perhaps more than any other cause, our subsequent unparalleled prosperity as a people, and our present surpassing power and influence among the nations.

The proclamation of neutrality was published on the 22d April, 1793. Within a month afterwards, citizen Genet presented his credentials, and had audience of the government, as minister from France. His language, at first, was moderate and just; having reference, merely, to the ordinary relations of an amicable intercourse between two governments; and excluding, in terms, all ideas of any such *political* connections, as should identify the United States with France in her belligerent concerns. But a short time, however, elapsed, before the tone of the French minister was entirely changed: acting under secret instructions from his government, in direct opposition to those he had *openly* communicated at his reception, he claimed certain immunities and rights under the treaty of '78—the concession of which, by our government, would not only have nullified the proclamation of neutrality, but, in its effect, would have made us directly a party in the war with England. The 17th and 22d articles of the treaty referred to, furnished the French minister with the pretext for these claims: *First*, that his government might build, arm and equip ships of war in American ports. *Second*, that it might man them with American citizens, officering them with French commissions. *Third*, that it might not only bring into our ports vessels captured from an enemy, (a point conceded, because specially provided for by the treaty,) but *also*, that French consuls, acting under commissions from the Directory, might sit as admiralty courts to adjudicate cases of prize. A fourth claim was urged, as accordant with the law of nations, that in our commerce with England we should insist upon the principle that "free ships make free goods."

The first three of these claims, proposed to be founded on the treaty, were resisted, as having no color for their support in any fair construction of that instrument; and as suggesting in themselves a direct exercise by France of the essential rights of sovereignty within the territory of the United States. The

fourth claim was met by the declaration, that an *exception* to the rule as to the relation of *goods* to *bottoms*, was attempted to be substituted for the rule itself, which, from time immemorial, had been, that "friendly ships" upon the high seas, were no protection to "enemy's goods." The treaty of '78 with France had stipulated the exception in express terms; but there was no such agreement with England, and therefore, in regard to that power, the established rule must have its force. This, of course, in our actual relations with the two belligerents, gave England greatly the advantage over France in the carrying trade of American vessels—the treaty operating to protect English goods, in such vessels, from capture by the French, while the law of nations forbade a similar exemption of French goods from capture by the English. This operation was severe upon French commerce; but it was not the fault of our government that it was so, but simply the misfortune of the French, that the law of nations would not permit it to be otherwise. Right or wrong, however, legal or illegal, the claim was urged as though it were indisputable; and so of other claims, until the language and conduct of the minister in urging them, became so insolent and offensive, as to occasion a demand for his recall. This event, however, was not occasioned alone by the extravagance of his pretensions in relation to maritime affairs, and the unparalleled impudence with which he urged them. He had, in the course of the same year, set on foot two expeditions against the Spanish possessions in America—one in South Carolina against Florida—the other in Kentucky against New-Orleans and Louisiana,—in both, making enlistments of American citizens, to be commanded by American officers with French commissions. The first was defeated by the timely interference of the government of South Carolina. The last was abandoned only after the termination of Genet's ministerial functions, and the recalling of the French commissions, with a disavowal of Genet's acts by his successor.

We have already said that negotiations, which proved fruitless, had been entered into by our government with Mr. Hammond, for the establishment of a commercial treaty, and the settlement of pending difficulties with England, arising under the treaty of '83. These negotiations were suspended by the extraordinary state of things in Europe connected with the revolutionary movement in France. This movement gave an entirely new aspect to our relations with England, of which we now proceed to give an account.

All the great powers of Europe were united against revolutionary France. In the conduct of the war on their part,

famine was one of the modes proposed for the subdual of their enemy; and they resorted to the extraordinary and cruel measure, of stopping *neutrals* from supplying France with articles of food. The American government was accordingly notified by the British minister, some time in September, '93, of a British order in council of the 8th of June preceding, declaring it lawful for his majesty's ships of war and privateers "to stop and detain all vessels loaded wholly or in part with *corn, flour or meal*, bound to any port of France," "and to send them to such ports as should be most convenient;" that such "corn, flour or meal, might be purchased by his majesty's government," &c. The purpose of this order was *not*, it seems, to make the property under it *prize*, but merely to change its destination from a French to an English market. The measure, however, was a palpable infringement of neutral rights; and as such, was not to be submitted to for a moment, without a proper remonstrance from the American to the British government, which was duly made. Contraband of war, and a properly sustained blockade, it was maintained, were the only cases in which, by the established law of nations, a neutral commerce could be inhibited by one belligerent from entering the ports of another. The American remonstrance, with this conclusive argument in vindication of its justness, was met by the novel and before unheard-of proposition, that articles of food became in part contraband of war, when the purpose of one of the belligerents was avowed to be to subdue the other belligerent by famine. It was further urged, that there was in reality no government in France "acknowledged either by neutrals or belligerents;" and that hence the purpose of the coalesced powers was justifiable, "to reduce France by prohibiting supplies of food."

The American remonstrance proved of no avail. The order of the 8th June was rigidly enforced, and the British ports were soon filled with American vessels, originally destined for France, but stopped in their voyage by the unyielding operations of that order. Indignation and resentment everywhere naturally prevailed in the United States. These were increased by the very general belief, that through the instrumentality of the British government, a year's truce had been negotiated between Portugal and Algiers, for the express purpose of letting out Algerine cruisers, hitherto confined to the Mediterranean, to prey upon American commerce in the Atlantic. This purpose was disclaimed by Lord Granville; but the effect was the same upon American vessels, and hundreds of American citizens, in the course of the stipulated

period, became the tenants, for long years, of Algerine dungeons.

The British order of the 8th June was flagrant enough; but another of the 6th November following, far surpassed it as an outrage on neutral rights. That order provided that vessels laden with goods the produce of French colonies, or carrying provisions for the use of such colonies, should be *stopped* and brought in with their cargoes for *legal adjudication* in the British courts of admiralty. The intelligence of this last order was received in America in December; and during the session of Congress, of 1793-4, while active measures were proposed and discussed in that body, to meet an emergency, the flagrancy of which, on the part of the British government, all parties saw and acknowledged, intelligence was received of the revocation of the order of November, and the substitution of another, providing for the stoppage of only such vessels as should be laden with the produce of the French islands, and coming directly from the same to any port in Europe. This modification of the order of November, though it exempted American vessels from capture, in the direct trade between the United States and the French colonies, where French citizens were not interested, did not change or yield the principle which was complained of as a violation of the law of nations. Hence the necessity remained, of some decisive action towards England in vindication of our neutral rights; and the question everywhere, and with all parties, was, what that action should be. Had Freneau, and Callender, and Jefferson, and the Jacobin clubs at that time everywhere scattered through the country, been in the control of affairs, war would at once have been declared against England, and an alliance with France would have brought us into all the mischiefs of a long and bloody contest with all the other trading powers of Europe. But, fortunately for the country then—fortunately for the country now, though sixty years removed from that perilous period of our history—other counsels prevailed: another set of men, with Washington at their head, held the reins of power; and the great principle of peace, the vital element of republican freedom and prosperity, was invoked, and decided the alternative of negotiation. John Jay was selected for the mission for that purpose—a wise and firm man, who, at the negotiation of the treaty of '83, had given incontestable proofs, that he knew as well how to encounter, if need be, with unshaking firmness, a necessary and unavoidable war, as how to make an honorable, enduring and advantageous peace. There was but one objection to Mr.

Jay; he was chief justice of the United States; and his nomination was opposed in the Senate on that ground. We can see no constitutional incompatibility in the selection; though, as a general rule, it can hardly admit of a doubt, that the selection could be vindicated, only on the ground of Mr. Jay's peculiar fitness for the work. Washington made the appointment, and the result demonstrated the wisdom of the choice.

The treaty, so celebrated in connection with the name of Mr. Jay, was the result of this mission. The first ten articles disposed of all the difficulties occasioned by the non-execution, on either side, of the treaty of '83. The remaining eighteen articles prescribed the terms which should regulate the future commercial relations between the two countries.

In any treaty to be made with England, whether in connection with Mr. Adams's mission, previous to the adoption of the constitution, or with that of Mr. Jay since, it was a leading point with our government to secure to American commerce the direct trade with the British West India islands. No proposition to this effect had been, for a moment, listened to by the British government, previous to the mission of Mr. Jay. The treaty concluded by him, however, embraced an article stipulating a direct trade in American vessels, not over the burden of seventy tons, and of products, the growth, mutually, of the States and the colonies; but with the *proviso*, that the United States should not carry "sugar, molasses, coffee, cocoa, or *cotton*, either from the islands, or from the *United States*, to any part of the world." At the moment of consenting to this article, which was believed to be a vital point gained in the negotiation, it seems that Mr. Jay was not aware that *cotton* was an article of growth, at least for export, of any one of the southern States; and that, therefore, as the provision referred to was supposed to embrace articles exclusively of the growth of the West Indies, there would be no objection to it, as involving a restraint upon the United States, in the exportation of products of its own. This error was corrected in the Senate, when the treaty appeared for ratification before that body; and by striking out the article altogether, in consequence of that mistake, our government lost the benefit of the principle for which it had so long and so strenuously contended, of securing the direct trade with the West India islands; and which the 12th article of the treaty, though in a modified form, was intended to secure. It is a memorable fact, that, in no treaty with England, from that day to this,

has that direct trade been secured; and it can never cease to be a matter of regret, that the single word *cotton*, instead of the whole 12th article, had not been stricken out, in the act of ratification by the Senate.

The treaty stipulated perfect liberty of commerce between the United States and the British dominions in Europe; and also with the British territory in the East Indies.

The privilege of entering and departing from the ports of either party, was granted to the ships of war of either nation with their prizes, with the proviso that the privilege should not attach, in contravention of any treaty that might already exist with any other power.

On the subject of "contraband of war," whatever might serve for the equipment of vessels, with some slight exceptions, were included in the list; and as regarded *provisions*, and other articles not generally contraband, it was declared that where, by the existing law of nations, they should become contraband, they should not be confiscated, but the owners be completely indemnified by the captors or the government.

No stipulation, similar to that already referred to with France, in the treaty of '78, that "free ships should make free goods," could be obtained by Mr. Jay.

These are the main points, in outline, of the celebrated treaty of Mr. Jay, which, for reasons at this day difficult to be understood, at least in any intrinsic force, excited an opposition throughout the country, that shook the government to its centre. There has been no period in our history, in which the permanency of our system seemed in greater peril, or in which the worst passions were so formidably and universally arrayed against the regular action of the government. The high party feeling which had marked the period of Genet's enormities, was now roused to a new intensity; and the public mind throughout the States was anew infuriated by the clubs and presses, that had already set at defiance every principle of order, in the transactions and utterances of a year or two before.

The main charges against the treaty, in its bearings upon our foreign relations, were, that France was sacrificed to England; that the claims of our ancient ally to our gratitude and support, in an existing struggle with our ancient enemy, had been outraged and trampled upon, by an admission of England to equal privileges of commercial intercourse with France. That the treaty of '78 with France was set at nought, in the article permitting British ships of war to come into and depart from our ports with prizes—that privilege having been granted to France in the treaty referred to, to the exclusion of any

nation with whom she might be at war; and finally, that the United States had "knowingly and evidently sacrificed their connection with the Republic, in abandoning the principle that free ships make free goods."

As to the first of these charges, it was quite plain that our independence as a nation required, that we should make the most favorable terms we could in our permanent commercial arrangements with foreign nations, uncontrolled by any merely temporary influences, (especially when involving more of sentiment or passion than of principle,) with the condition alone, that we should not thereby violate our plighted faith to any other power.

As to the charge of violation of the treaty of '78, by the stipulation to admit British ships of war with their prizes into our ports, the answer is, that the proviso in the article, by necessary operation, made the case of English prizes of French vessels a palpable exception to the privilege which the stipulation gave.

As to the last charge, in relation to the alleged principle of "free ships, free goods," the effort had been made by Mr. Jay to introduce it into the treaty, but without effect. The charge, to have any force, must imply, either, that we had the right to demand the insertion of the principle, as a part of the law of nations, or that, not having such right, we should have made it a *sine qua non* to the completion of the treaty, as a matter of expediency. As to the point of right, it is sufficient to say, that the rule, that "free ships" do *not* protect "enemy's goods," is as old as the commercial history of the world,—and that the only reason why it was ever thought otherwise, probably was, that so many treaties had been made dispensing with the rule, or rather, making exceptions to it, that these exceptions had come to be mistaken for the rule itself. But further: if the principle as stated, were really part and parcel of the law of nations as contended, why the necessity of inserting it in a treaty, when, by its own force, like every other acknowledged law, it might be properly left to execute itself? As to the point of expediency,—of making the provision a *sine qua non*,—that was again a question to be determined by the interests of America alone, without any regard to other nations, except so far as the faith of treaties might prevent; and that qualification was never pretended to have any bearing upon this point.

Soon after the intelligence of the treaty reached Paris, although Mr. Monroe, our minister there, was specially instructed, from the first, to assure the French government

that nothing in the proposed treaty should or could be construed to interfere with our obligations to France, that government announced to Mr. Monroe that the British treaty had put an end to the alliance between the United States and France. The measures, however, which they should decide to take in consequence, would be postponed, till it should be known what part the House of Representatives of the United States would take, in carrying into effect, by the necessary appropriations, the action of the President and the Senate in the ratification of the treaty. The action of the House was, in due time, found to be in favor of the treaty,—and the threatened consequence from the French government instantly came, in the shape of a decree, declaring, that “all neutral or allied powers shall without delay be notified, that the flag of the French republic will treat *neutral* vessels, as to *confiscations, searches or capture*, in the same manner as they shall suffer the English to treat them. By this decree, a vital article of the treaty of '78 was abrogated by the French government; and the effect immediately, and necessarily was, to place the French republic in a state of *quasi* war with the United States.

The conduct of the American minister, Mr. Monroe, in reference to the events which led to the state of things just described, was entirely disapproved by the American government, and he was recalled. He had been selected by the President for the French mission, as the successor of Gouverneur Morris, not because of any public sympathy between him and his own government, but because it was supposed that his known attachment to the principles of the French revolution might give him a useful influence with the French government, in placing the relations between the two countries upon a true and just footing. The influence he really exerted, however, was quite the reverse of useful; and it would be hardly too much to say, that his position at the French court was rather that of a ruling representative of a French party in his own country, than a diplomatic minister from its government. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney was appointed to succeed him; and while the Directory parted with Monroe evidently with deep regret, his successor was refused even an audience of reception. Mr. Pinckney remained in France and Holland, though unacknowledged, till, on the coming in of Mr. Adams as the successor of Washington, John Marshall and Elbridge Gerry were associated in a special commission with him. The joint commission was treated with contumely by the French government. A *douceur* to ministers, and a

tribute or loan to the nation, were demanded, as the condition of treating our ministers with even the forms of respect. These of course were indignantly refused. Pinckney and Marshall withdrew from a position, in which the grossest indignities would have made their continuance dishonorable. Gerry, more in sympathy with the French, remained to be disgraced by an abortive attempt at separate negotiation, and a subsequent peremptory recall.

The subsequent history of our relations with France was but a continued series of insults, outrages and aggressions, during the greater part of the administration of Mr. Adams, and down to the period of his appointment of a new commission, composed of Ellsworth, Davie and Murray, by whom a treaty was finally negotiated, during the consulship of Napoleon Bonaparte, in 1800.

III. Of the constitutional questions to which the events of Washington's administration gave rise, one of the deepest interest and moment was suggested by the British treaty. We have said, that the needful appropriations to carry the treaty into effect, were finally made by the House of Representatives. This was not, however, without one of those desperate party struggles, which, in legislation upon great and momentous questions, sometimes seem to involve the very existence of a government. There is nothing more memorable in our parliamentary history, than the House discussion of the treaty; and the most important and vital point of it was, as to the power of the House to nullify the treaty by refusing the appropriations.

As we view it, in reference to the constitution, the question was purely technical. Nobody could dispute the constitutional provision, that moneys could not be drawn from the treasury but in pursuance of appropriations made by law. But there are *duties* to be *performed*, by an implied command of the constitution, as well as *powers* to be exercised, under the express grants of it. The constitution, for instance, has provided for the appointment of certain officers—as Judges of the Supreme Court—with salaries or compensations, to be provided for by law. A general law is required, fixing the amount of these salaries. But a particular law is also required, at each session of Congress, making appropriations for the payment of them. Now, the law making these appropriations is certainly made in pursuance of an express power to pass it; but who would think of maintaining, for a moment, that though, in *form*, a power, it was not, in *substance*, a duty, to pass such a law? The assumption that the power to pass such a law was merely a matter of *option* in Congress, would involve the absurdity that Congress

possessed, rightfully, the power of breaking up the government which the constitution has appointed it to execute. Now, further, a general law, fixing the salaries of public officers, is only one instance of such a law, which a particular law is required to carry out; and the proposition that requires such a particular law, as a matter of constitutional duty on the part of Congress, is just as predictable of any other general law as it is of that fixing the amount of salaries to public officers. The constitution has declared that a treaty shall be regarded as a law of the land. It has also provided, that the President "shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the senators present concur." Now, when shall a treaty be said to be a law within the meaning of the clause declaring it to be such? Undoubtedly when the provision quoted shall, in a given instance, have been executed—when, with the needful advice and consent of the Senate, the President shall have ratified it.

But, says Mr. Gallatin, (we mean the Mr. Gallatin of 1795, and not the Mr. Gallatin of more recent and more grateful memory), when money is stipulated to be paid, a law of Congress is necessary to appropriate it; and this, by necessary operation, makes the House of Representatives a constitutional part of the treaty-making power. If this be so, the same power of appropriation, when applied to the payment of salaries, must make the House of Representatives a constitutional part of the appointing power; and Congress may, consequently, refuse appropriations for salaries, in cases where appointments are disapproved. Thus, if, in the case of a treaty, the treaty is not complete without the action of the House of Representatives making the needful appropriations, so in the case of an appointment, the appointment is not complete until the appropriation for salaries is passed. But how would the proposition in regard to appointments stand, in cases where the constitution, as in the case of judges, has made terms of indefinite duration? The appropriation for salaries being made annually, the propriety of a given appointment may be made a subject of annual discussion. The consequence must be, that an appointment is never complete; and, until complete, how can the officer act?

If, then, the analogy of appointments to treaties be sound, the proposition that a treaty is not complete until the needful appropriations are made to give it effect, is run into an absurdity which destroys it. To make the analogy more complete, we may suppose a treaty which stipulates annual payments of money for a number of years, as our late treaty with Mexico, for instance. Is it a possible question, that a discussion of the

merits of such a treaty shall be admissible upon every annual appropriation?

We recur to our proposition: there are *duties* impliedly enjoined, as well as *powers* expressly delegated by the constitution; and not to perform these duties because it requires, *eo nomine*, the exercise of a power to carry them out, would be as wanton a departure from the requirements of the constitution, as the exercise of a power not given or expressly prohibited would be a wanton violation of it.

The fact is, the great and distinctive feature of our constitution is, that it carefully divides the powers of government among different bodies:—the appointing power and the treaty-making power, for instance, are assigned to the President and Senate; the war-making power and the power of making appropriations to Congress; and to say that the simple power of appropriation shall modify and control the arrangement and action of all other powers, is to make the constitution defeat itself,—is to confound all sensible and obvious distinctions, and to make the government a chaos.

Constitutional questions of great interest and importance, besides the one just discussed in relation to the British treaty, arose during the administration of Gen. Washington. Of these, the executive power of removal from office, and the legislative power of establishing a Bank of the United States, were the most prominent. Both questions were settled in favor of the power. Experience has proved the absolute necessity of the first; and a forty years' trial has demonstrated the incalculable financial importance of the last.

The power of appointment being placed in the President and Senate conjointly, it might seem proper that the power of removal should be placed there also, but for one reason: the Senate is not in perpetual session; and as causes of removal might suddenly, and in any number of cases, arise during a congressional recess—cases, in which the most vital public interests might require the action of the removing power without an instant's delay—it would seem that an uncontrollable necessity should place the power of removal in the executive alone. For, every one must see, that a hundred extra sessions of the Senate, for the hundred cases that might demand them, if that body were associated in the power, would make the action of the Senate in the exercise of the power a practical impossibility. To be sure, party purposes might be subserved in the exercise of the power by the President alone; but the same might be said of other powers of equal and even greater importance, for which the constitution has provided. But

there is an adequate constitutional responsibility provided for the upright exercise of all.

The establishment of a National Bank was among the most important of the measures that distinguished the outset of the government. It was believed and decided to be a necessary and proper means of conducting the financial operations of the government. The soundness of that decision has been tested by a forty years' experience of the beneficial uses of such an institution:—a uniform currency having, by its instrumentality, been effective throughout the country, during the greater part of the period named, and the receipt and disbursement of the public funds, to the amount of thousands of millions, having been accomplished, with the utmost facility, at the smallest expense, and without the loss to the nation of a single dollar; such effects certainly demonstrated the propriety, and in the constitutional sense, the *necessity*, of such an institution,—thus settling the question of its constitutionality. Its *expediency* could be opposed, only on the ground of its tendency to political corruption—and we confidently aver, that a true history of the vast operations of either of the two banks of the United States, would fail to furnish a single instance by which the argument on that ground could be sustained.

A most important enactment, believed at the time to be absolutely necessary, among other things, to give to the constitution complete effect, has of late been called in question as a violation of it. The 25th section of the Judiciary Act of '89, provides for appeals in certain cases, to the Supreme Court of the United States, from the highest judicial tribunals of the several States. The constitution had provided, that the judicial power of the United States should extend to all cases in law and equity arising under the constitution, laws and treaties of the United States; and also declared, that said constitution, laws and treaties, should be the supreme law of the land; and that the judges in any State should be bound thereby, any thing in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding. It would seem a logical consequence from these provisions, in their connection with each other, that an appellate power should exist in the national judiciary, to review the decisions and correct the errors of the state courts, in questions involving the application of the national constitution, laws, &c.; and for the simple and conclusive reason, that, without such revisional power, the provisions referred to might be rendered nugatory by the state courts, however erroneously, and the national government be left at the mercy of the state governments in the most essential arrangements.

for its conservation. Mr. Calhoun, however, in the "Discourse," maintains, that the appellate power of the Supreme Court should be confined to such cases only as shall have been decided by the *inferior national* tribunals. This idea is founded upon the general position, that the state sovereignties are in all respects distinct from the national; and that to allow to the judiciary of the latter the appellate power claimed, would be to allow a direct encroachment upon the sovereignty of the former. The proposition is a "*petitio principii*;" for it assumes that the constitution has not given the power; which is the very point in question.

If Mr. Calhoun's assumptions, and the grounds of them, were true, they would prove, not that the powers claimed were an offensive usurpation upon state rights, but that the constitution was vitally defective in not having given them. For, we are of those who believe, that, without the appellate power referred to, the inevitable collisions between the national and state tribunals in opposing adjudications upon the same questions, must, in a very short time, destroy the government. It is plain common sense, that a direct power of uniform final decision of all questions involving the national constitution and laws, should exist somewhere; and it is equally plain, that it could exist nowhere but in a national tribunal. Such a tribunal can have no partialities as against the States. It is composed of men who, in fact, represent the States; whereas the state tribunals are composed of men who do *not* represent the nation. The rights of the States, at least so far as the question of partiality is concerned, would be much more likely to be cared for and protected by men equally interested with all others in their preservation, than the rights of the nation would be by men who may be interested only in what shall pertain to a single State. This distinction is a perfect answer to the idea of danger of federal encroachment upon state rights through the medium of the national judiciary. Men do not cease to be citizens in the several States, by becoming national judges; nor give up their local interests by having those of a nation to decide upon. In this view of the matter, the reserved rights of the State—the great central thought of all Mr. Calhoun's cares and speculations—would seem quite as sure of being protected, as the granted rights of the nation of being too liberally construed, or too stringently enforced.

The space remaining to us, we devote to the administration of Mr. Adams. Besides the *quasi* war with France, the details of which would, in effect, be but a repetition of ground already gone over, the alien and sedition laws, with the Vir-

ginia and Kentucky resolutions consequent upon them, the treaty with France, and the new judiciary act, were the distinguishing features of this administration.

I. Our foreign relations, and the high party excitement occasioned by them at home, in the disturbing influences of which, immigrants from foreign countries had much to do, were the principal occasion of the celebrated alien and sedition laws. The alien law made it lawful for the President of the United States, at any time during the continuance of the law, to *order* all such *aliens*, as he should judge dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States, or should have reasonable ground to suspect were concerned in any treasonable or secret machination against the government thereof, to depart out of the territory of the United States, within such time as should be expressed in such order. And the penalty of refusal, in any alien, to obey such order, was imprisonment for three years, and disqualification ever after to become a citizen of the United States. It is quite clear, that the investment of such power in a President of the United States, without qualification of any sort,—without the intervention even of a judicial inquiry into any fact of the case, was to make the President, in theory, a despot. Looking from the point of view with which the ripe experience of our republic at this day would furnish us, there is no ground on which such a law could be justified,—though, considering the distracted state of the country at the time,—threatened in its very liberties, as was believed, by the hordes of foreigners, who, with a host of reckless factionists at home, were actively and openly engaged in the most desperate means to thwart the regular and necessary action of the government, such a power might have been thought necessary, for a limited period,—two years,—on the ground that the absolute principle of a Roman Dictatorship was necessary to the very existence of the government. On that ground, the alien law might be excused, as springing from a patriotic motive in the enactors of it,—but never justified on any ground connected with the theory of a free and limited government. It is a satisfaction, however, to know, that the power, for the time being, was in safe and honest hands, and that, in no instance, was it ever exercised.

The sedition law stood upon entirely different ground; and doubtless derived the odium universally connected with it in the popular mind, more from its casual connection with the alien law, than from anything objectionable in itself. We believe the law to have been, in every particular, consistent with the constitution, and sustained by every principle of good

sense and sound policy. The first section simply provided for the punishment of unlawful combinations, or conspiracies, to defeat the measures of the government, and prevent the operation of the laws. Nobody could object to this. The second section provided for the punishment of libels against the government, or any branch thereof, with the *intent* to bring it into contempt or disrepute, or to stir up *sedition*, or to excite unlawful combinations for opposing or resisting any law of the United States. This was all;—and this was not only excusable, under the peculiar circumstances of the times, but justifiable, under the circumstances of any times, as embracing principles which could have no other tendency than the conservation of the government.

At the time of the passage of the sedition law, and for some fifteen or twenty years after, it was an unsettled question, whether crimes at the common law were cognizable by the courts of the United States. This doubt, existing in regard to libels, the sedition law, instead of establishing a despotism by suppressing the liberty of the press, as has been inconsiderately charged upon it, may be regarded as having mitigated the rigor of the common law, by providing, that, in indictments for libel under it, the truth of the matter contained in the publication charged as libel, might be given in evidence—a principle unknown to the common law, whose maxim is, “the greater the truth, the greater the libel.” In this view, had not the sedition law been passed, and libels upon the government been cognizable at the common law, as they were then supposed to be, truths would have been indictable as well as falsehoods; and thus the direct effect of the sedition law was to enlarge the liberty of the press in regard to truths, and to restrain it, only in regard to falsehoods,—an effect, which no mind can fail to value, which does not regard the right of speaking or publishing falsehoods, however malicious and injurious, as an essential element of political freedom.

II. The alien and sedition laws excited the bitterest opposition and hostility throughout the country; and in the States of Virginia and Kentucky these assumed the imposing form of legislative resolves. In these two States, resolutions were introduced—in Virginia by Mr. Madison, in Kentucky by Mr. Nicholas—in both under the special influence and advice, if not dictation, of Mr. Jefferson, recommending **NULLIFICATION** as the proper mode by which the obnoxious laws should be prevented from operating in the two States named. The material one of the Kentucky resolutions is in the following language:—“The several States which framed that instrument,

(the constitution,) being sovereign and independent, have the unquestionable right to judge of its infraction ; and a *nullification by these sovereignties of all unauthorized acts, done under color of that instrument, is the rightful remedy.*" A copy of this resolution was forwarded by Mr. Jefferson to Mr. Nicholas, who introduced the same into the legislature of Kentucky. The *original, verbatim et literatim*, was found among Mr. Jefferson's papers after his death, where Mr. Ritchie, of the *Richmond Enquirer*, declares he saw it. Mr. Jefferson is thus conclusively proved to have been the real author of the theory of nullification, though Mr. Calhoun has for many years enjoyed all the honor of it. The fact is, the first, in the abundance of his metaphysical resources, first conceived the thought, and gave it the form of a resolution ; the last availed himself of the principle, and endeavored to carry it out in action.

We shall no further notice the nullification principle on the present occasion, than to refer to what Mr. Calhoun says in the "Discourse" touching the *amending* power in the constitution, as affording the legitimate means of preventing any practical evils from nullification ; and to quote, from Mr. Grimke's "Considerations," an unanswerable exposition of the absurdity of Mr. Calhoun's idea on that point. We premise, that Mr. Calhoun regards the sovereignty of the United States and the sovereignty of each of the several States as occupying antagonistic positions ; the first, holding out for delegated, and the second, for reserved, rights ; and in reference to any contest between these two in relation to these rights, Mr. Calhoun says :

"It is the duty of the federal government to invoke the aid of the amending power, should any dangerous derangement or disorder result from the mutual negation of the co-ordinate governments, or from the interposition of a state, in its sovereign character, to arrest one of its acts, in case all other remedies should fail to adjust the difficulty."—*Discourse*, p. 296.

And again :

"It is clear that the party who claims the right to exercise a power, is bound to make it good against the party denying the right ; and that if there should be a power higher than either provided, by which the question between them can be adjusted, he, in such case, has no right to assert his claim on his own authority, but is bound to appeal to the tribunal appointed, (the amending power in the case in hand,) according to the forms prescribed, and to establish and assert his right through its authority."—*Discourse*, p. 297.

That is, if we understand Mr. Calhoun, Congress—of course by a majority—have passed a law : South Carolina, denying its

constitutionality, declares it null and void within the limits of that State. Forthwith, *two-thirds* of the Congress that passed the law are bound to propose an amendment to the constitution, recognizing the validity of the obnoxious act. Until this be done, the law is to have no force in South Carolina, though in force in all the other States. We say, *in force in all the other States*; because, if it be not in force in some of the States, it must be suspended altogether; in which case the consequence might result that the nation would be altogether without laws; for in relation to every vital law, there might be some dissenting State, and in every instance of dissent the law must be suspended.

Now, the whole of this proposition of Mr. Calhoun's, on the very face of it, is condemned by its palpable absurdity. But we proceed to quote from Mr. Grimke a view of the question which must settle it forever. After stating that, in order to give effect to his theory, Mr. Calhoun "was compelled to assume that Congress were bound to call a convention to amend the constitution, whenever a single State dissented to a law as unconstitutional," Mr. Grimke, in his "Considerations," proceeds thus:

"The mode of calling a convention to amend, is one of the parts of the constitution which is least liable to misinterpretation. It can only be assembled with the consent of two-thirds of the states, or two-thirds of both houses of Congress. The effect of the doctrine in question would be to give this power to a single state. Not that this view would be taken by its advocates, for our own arbitrary conceptions are able to give shape and form to almost anything. It would still be insisted that two-thirds of Congress, or two-thirds of the state legislatures, must concur in calling a convention. But if two-thirds, or a majority in either case, were convinced of the constitutionality of the law in existence, it is plain that a convention could only be assembled by the authority of the single dissenting state. For there is no way in which we can conceive of a legislative body acting, at any rate of its having a right to act, but by persuasion of the correctness and lawfulness of what it does. To assert that it is bound to call a convention, against its most settled convictions, is to assert that it is bound to call one upon compulsion. Nor can any human ingenuity make it otherwise.

"It is an established maxim in American institutions, that the government can no more concede an ungranted privilege, than exercise an ungranted power. To concede a privilege is to communicate a power; and is guarded with the same caution as the usurpation of authority. If it had been intended that a convention should be assembled, not only when two-thirds of Congress were convinced of the expediency of so doing, but upon the complaint of a single state, the constitution would have said so in plain words. There cannot be a shadow of doubt upon the subject. The two cases are totally distinguishable from each other. Each affords a specific occasion for acting: and to suppose that the one was intended to involve the other, would argue a confounding of two things, unnecessary, improbable in the extreme, and full of mischief. But to have inserted in plain language the provision contended for, would have been so startling, that every member of the convention

would have recoiled from it. Strange as it may seem, therefore, there is no possible way of claiming the existence of any such power, except upon the ground that it has been absolutely omitted in the constitution. It is impossible to defend usurpation by law, but it is often possible to argue plausibly against law."—P. 386.

III. The treaty with France, negotiated by Ellsworth and his colleagues in 1800, brought to a close all our difficulties with that power, which had grown up since the overthrow of the monarchy in '93. This treaty was certainly of vast importance to both countries at the time of it. It has no especial interest now, except in one connection. The American merchants, who had suffered to the amount of millions by the French spoliations on our commerce, under the decrees referred to in a former part of this article, are yet without a dollar of indemnity for those losses. By the treaty of '78 with France, already mentioned, there was a *perpetual* guaranty on our part, of the integrity of the French possessions in the West Indies. It was, on every ground, desirable, that we should be released from this perpetual guaranty, and such a release was stipulated, in effect, by the treaty of 1800, in consideration of an entire relinquishment, on our part, of all claims against the French government on account of the spoliations above referred to. By this arrangement, our government assumed the obligation of indemnifying American merchants for their losses by these spoliations. That obligation, to the shame of the American government, has never been redeemed. Repeated attempts have been made, under different administrations, to do justice in the case, the last of which resulted in a favorable enactment by the two houses of Congress, which was vetoed by President Polk, mainly on the ground of the antiquity and staleness of the claim! Whether this monument of our national dishonor shall ever be removed, it remains for our future history to disclose.

IV. The organization of the Judicial Department of the government, by the Act of '89, was considered as entirely unequal to the wants of our rapidly growing republic during the last year of Mr. Adams's administration. Accordingly, essential amendments were made of the old system, by which the number of national judges was greatly increased. The vilest motives for these changes were ascribed to the party in power by their opponents; and but a short time elapsed, on the coming in of the new administration in 1801, when the new system was repealed, and the old one reinstated without material change. This measure of repeal is of but little practical interest now, except as it is connected with a main argument

urged against it, founded on the principle of the constitutional permanency of the judicial office. Judges were appointed under the new system, with commissions to continue during good behavior. The question was, whether a repeal of a law creating the judicial office, should not, by its necessary operation to abolish the office, be regarded as an indirect violation of the constitutional provision making the judicial commission permanent. As we view the matter, there cannot be a reasonable doubt upon the subject. So far as the constitution itself has provided for judges, so far the judges are beyond the reach of any legislative change which should be designed to affect them. But so far as judges are provided for by ordinary legislation the case is different. Although the permanent tenure shall attach to their appointments as long as the law creating their offices shall last, still the power of legislation, which, by repeal or change, such as the constantly occurring experience of the country, as in other matters, shows to be necessary, may deprive judges of their seats, must be regarded as more sacred than any mere individual immunity, which, by mere construction, may be urged against it. The constitution has provided, imperatively, for "one Supreme Court." The judges of that, legislation can never touch. But the constitution has also provided, that the judicial power shall, in addition, be vested "in such inferior courts as Congress may *from time to time*, ordain and establish." Now, this power of ordaining and establishing inferior courts, from time to time, by the very force of the terms, involves the power of modifying; and if of modifying, then of repealing, existing laws ordaining and establishing them.

The argument, from a technical reading of the constitution, is overwhelmingly sustained by the expediency of the case. Legislation upon no subject, in a country and under a government like ours, can wisely admit of a stereotyped permanency. Things are constantly and rapidly changing; and laws and plans of administration must change with them; and we can see no reason for making the judicial arrangements of the government, so far as they depend on legislation, an exception to the rule. The most fatal errors in an existing system may require to be corrected; and to say that these shall continue to exist, because individual interests may be injuriously affected by a removal of them, would be to violate that most obvious and sound principle in government, which demands the postponement of the individual to the general good.

ART. VI.—CUSTOMS, MANNERS, AND RELIGION, OF
NICARAGUA, IN CENTRAL AMERICA.

BY MR. J. D. WHEPLEY, NEW-YORK.

Nicaragua: its People, Scenery, Monuments, and the Proposed Interoceanic Canal. With numerous original maps and illustrations. By E. G. SQUIER, late Chargé d'Affaires of the United States to the Republics of Central America. New-York: D. Appleton & Co.

THE recall of Mr. Squier, by the present administration, from his chargéship in Central America, has been to us a fortunate event, as it gave him leisure to prepare a complete and satisfactory account of a country of which we knew almost nothing, but which has suddenly acquired an importance equal to that of any other on the globe. Mexico touches our southern boundary, and is fast assimilating to ourselves; and yet Mexico, with all its mines, is, at this epoch of our history, of less importance to us than the little State of Nicaragua, the half-way house between ourselves and our sons and brothers on the Pacific slope of the continent. In every point of view,—in its history, as an ancient colony of Spain, settled and governed under the Catholic auspices of the most Catholic monarchy of Europe,—where, to this day, the Romanism of the 15th century still prevails,—where republicanism contends in vain against superstition, and the intellect of a people, originally brave, intelligent, and for their opportunities enlightened, has remained two centuries behind the modern age in knowledge, and apparently in capacity;—in its wealth, the earth in these regions teeming with the precious metals, and throwing, as it were, at the feet of man, riches of which none but a powerful and intelligent manhood can avail itself;—in its commercial position, as the grand gate-way of the future Asiatic commerce of America, and of that free emigration which is now gradually covering all the shores of the Pacific with the Greeks of these ages, the people of the United States;—in its political relations, as the key to our Pacific enterprises, which the jealousy of Great Britain is vainly endeavoring to wrest from us, by an unjust and futile occupation;—finally, the State of Nicaragua is important to us—as an American colony, in which our people are rapidly gaining a foothold, and which they will soon make theirs, without war or treachery, by mere industry and superior intelligence, to

the enlightenment, and to every temporal benefit of its present inhabitants.

Every intelligent man in the United States ought to make himself acquainted with at least the present condition of a region, which may become in a few years a mine of wealth, or a cause of miserable war and trouble to the land of his affection—his country.

The Republic of Nicaragua is bordered on the east by the Caribbean Sea. Its principal and most ancient seaport is that of San Juan de Nicaragua, at present occupied by the foreign agents of Great Britain, who have abused the power entrusted to them by the people of England, so far as to lay claim to nearly an entire third of Nicaragua and the adjacent states. The port of San Juan is the eastern terminus of the proposed interoceanic canal, to be constructed for the benefit of our Pacific states, and our commerce with Asia. Since the establishment of the new line of steamers, San Juan has become the principal landing point of California immigration in its passage across the continent.

On the north, Nicaragua is bounded by Honduras, an old Spanish colony, now a republic, celebrated for more than two centuries for the product of mahogany.

On the south, Nicaragua is bounded by Costa Rica, a smaller Spanish republic, and on the west by the Bay of Fonseca and the Pacific.

Its shore along the Caribbean Sea trends nearly upon a line of the meridian, while on the Pacific it reaches toward the north-west. At the north-west angle of the state lies the great Bay of Fonseca, for naval and commercial purposes equal, or superior, to that of New-York; and should it ever be made the terminus of the grand ship canal, destined to carry upon its waters as grand a commerce as that of the Empire City.

The great and long Lake of Nicaragua, and the lesser one of Managua, both navigable for the largest vessels, extend obliquely toward the north-west, parallel with the Pacific shore, the first 105 miles, and the second about half that distance, with an interval of 16 miles between the two. From the south-eastern extremity of the greater lake, the river San Juan flows south-eastward 88 miles to the sea. The lesser lake, on the summit level of the continent, sends a river into the upper extremity of the greater lake. On the Pacific slope, rivers flow downward from the vicinity of these lakes into the Pacific and into the Bay of Fonseca, making the entire distance from one sea to the other rather more than 300 miles, of which about 200 is already made navigable by nature, for vessels of considerable size.

The region of these lakes and rivers is one of the most beautiful in the world, and among the richest in its natural productions. Lying on and between the 11th and 13th degrees of north latitude, but in the interior raised by volcanic elevation far above the surface of the two oceans, no region of as low a latitude can boast an equal beauty and variety of scenery and production, with as great salubrity of climate.

Ascending the river San Juan, the voyager finds himself floating under the gloomy arches of a tropical forest, whose broad leaves, "covering cool, dark vistas," form a roof impenetrable to the sun. Moving slowly, at sunset, under the shadow of the trees, at the moment when the last golden beam is gilding the summit of the palms, the boatmen raise their oars; each takes off his hat—it is the hour of *oracion*—of prayer; one of them commences the evening hymn; the chorus is taken up by the crew. The echoes of the clear, sweet melody are taken up and prolonged by the hollow arches of the forest. Even in the hearts of these semi-barbarians there is the element of music and of prayer, soothing and solemnizing even the most indifferent.

The feeling is momentary; and as soon as the song is ended, the natives raise a shout, bend to their oars, and after a furious pull of a few minutes, all hands burst into a scream of laughter, as if in ridicule of the Church, that drove them, with sword and cannon, to the altar of the Papacy.

The passage up the river San Juan is performed in long canoes called *bongos*, and is a voyage of some trouble and delay. Certain portions of the river are infested with mosquitoes. It is a fancy of the boatmen that they are attracted by noise; they are therefore careful in lying-to, for the night, to take the sweeps on board, and drop the anchor as silently as possible.

Passing the low regions of the coast, the voyager enters between high banks covered with a variety of forest trees, festooned with vines, and enlivened with birds of brilliant plumage. Multitudes of forest lizards and monkeys leap and run among the foliage. Both these and the monkeys are esteemed good food, and are killed and eaten by the natives.

Mr. Squier's description of the voyage up the San Juan is picturesque, and diversified with interest; but we must hasten on with him to the magnificent lake of Nicaragua, of whose scenery he gives beautiful and highly finished pictures, and to that part of his narrative which introduces us to a people curiously antiquated and original in their manners; taken out

of the great world, and for two centuries inclosed among the forests of the Cordilleras.

After a cordial reception and entertainment by the inhabitants of San Carlos, at the head of the river San Juan, our voyager commences a picturesque but really dangerous voyage in his open *bongo*,* to the city of Grenada, at the north-western extremity of Lake Nicaragua. The first evening of the voyage the breeze died away, and left our voyagers becalmed. "The sun went down" "behind the purple peak of Orosa," his rays darting out on all sides from the dusky body of the volcano, and pouring "a dazzling flood" along the lake, "in which the islands of Salentenami and La Boqueta seemed to float as in liquid gold." In a few moments the heavens were crimsoned over, and passing through the swift transitions of twilight in these regions, settled into the "cool gray of evening, through which the stars shone down with a strange and almost unnatural lustre."

An admirable description of a night-storm on the lake, which follows the sunset, contains simple and sublime touches, which betray the feeling and imagination of a poet, but always curiously broken up and made familiar by touches of comedy and gay freedom, the farthest removed from sentimental.

The *bongo*, manned by a crew of timid natives, crept along the northern shore of the lake, making a tedious, interrupted voyage to Grenada. The views on this route must be surpassingly grand and lovely. "We now, for the first time, felt the majesty of the giant volcanoes of Ometepec and Madeira." "They rose clear and bold against the sky, regular as works of art, the moving clouds casting their sides in shadow, and clasping their summits as they passed, then sweeping away to the Pacific." Nature is colored in these regions beyond all art or description. The very soil and rocks are steeped in mineral hues resembling those of vegetation.

The incidents of landing at Grenada are minutely and delicately sketched with the happy pencil of a real artist. Our voyager was handsomely entertained here, after his public reception, by a Spanish gentleman of the place. The city was in revolution; nevertheless, the chargé of the great Northern Republic was honored with a public reception. The people of Nicaragua looked to those of the United States as their friends and pacifiers, and as the only power able to protect them against the exasperating oppressions of Great Britain. By the

* The clumsy and dangerous *bongos* of the San Juan are now supplanted by American steamers.

intelligent conversation of the natives, Mr. S. had already arrived at the conviction, that if the people of Central America were treated by ourselves with the consideration due to a system of free republics, and allowed their just rights as an independent power, they would not fail to hold a respectable rank among nations, and would be at peace among themselves.

With the exception of the great church of La Mercedes, and the convent of San Francisco, there is nothing remarkable in the appearance of Grenada. It was a Catholic bishopric as early as 1532—the period of the Reformation;—which did not extend its influence to the cities of Central America.

The houses, mostly of one story, of stone or clay, with fronts or doors ornamented in the heavy style of the sixteenth century, are arranged along broad streets. Merchandise is exposed in open shops. In the lesser streets, the houses were mere huts of cane and clay. A large part of this ancient colony is now neglected and falling into ruin, from the diminution of a once flourishing commerce, destroyed by the encroachments of Great Britain.

After inspecting the ruins of an ancient fort, our voyager paid a visit to the hacienda of Don Jose Leon Sandoval, “a plainly dressed, substantial person, bearing a close likeness to General Taylor. He had been director of the state, but preferred, he said, being a good farmer rather than a poor director.” Here was a plantation of indigo and of the valuable cacao plant.

Again, while standing at evening upon the shores of the lake, our traveler is impressed with the ceremony of the evening prayer. The bustle of the city was concentrated on the shore: sailors, swarms of water-carriers, idlers, women and children, gave life and animation to the scene. From the ruined walls of the castle he contemplated the splendors of the close of day falling upon the lake and its magnificent islands and green shores. Suddenly, the bells of the city tolled the hour of prayer. Every voice was hushed—“the horseman reined in his steed, the rope dropped from the hands of the mariner, the sentinel on the fort stopped short in his round, even the water jars were left half filled”—all uncovered and joined in prayer: “Ave Maria sanctissima.” The sound of the lake waters broke gently in with the harmony of the vesper bells, and the hum of praying voices made a solemn interval. The bells ceased to toll; the crowd resumed its gayety.

Mr. S. does not enter into a full description of his public reception at Grenada. He was met and welcomed by the principal dignitaries of the place, who expressed the most respect-

ful and cordial sentiments towards him, as a representative of the United States, and spoke of the British encroachments upon their territory in a tone of strong indignation and reproach.

The Spanish style of living in these climates is described as exceedingly comfortable. There are no slaves, labor being free, and paid by daily wages. Society was extremely free and hospitable, and always well-mannered, without barbarism or grossness, but curiously simple and antique. The women of Spanish stock are pictured to us as very agreeable, with handsome faces, and conversation not learned, but affable and polite. The palm of superior beauty is awarded by our voyager to the young Indian girls, whose lightness of figure and animation excited his special admiration.

The pride of Spanish aristocracy seems to have departed altogether from these regions, for it was no uncommon thing to find a small assortment of fancy articles for sale in a corner even of the best houses, and the lady herself attending to the disposal of them.

We find following these agreeable sketches of Spanish society, a description of a ride to a great cacao estate, which is important, as it offers information to those who may desire to employ free labor in a kind of agriculture the most profitable perhaps in the world, and certainly the most agreeable in its details.

The horses of Nicaragua are of the Arabian stock, well formed, enduring, and good-tempered. They are trained by the bit and spur, and perform several gaits. Their equipment is the high Mexican saddle, awkward in appearance, but which gives a firm seat. Riding through an unbroken forest, by a road walled in with prickly cactuses; looking down by-roads leading off to haciendas, (plantations);—passing on his way the market-women on their mules going to the city;—our traveler came at length upon open fields, surrounded by ditches and cactus hedges in full bloom. On arriving at the clay-built mansion of the rich proprietor, the party were treated with the fresh milk of cocoa nuts—a delicious beverage, very unlike the rancid contents of the fruit, as we have it after it has made a sea voyage.

Vistas of orange and mango covered the roads of the estate, which resembled a beautiful park. The cacao tree, called by botanists the *Theobroma*, or food of gods, grows ordinarily to the height of ten or fifteen feet, and resembles the cherry, but with very large leaves. The flowers are small and of a red color. The fruit is a pod, containing from ten to fifty of the

"beans." The tree at the fifteenth year attains perfection, and produces two crops annually. To shade it from the heat and preserve moisture about the roots, the rows are protected by tall, broad-leaved plantains, set among them. The *Erithrina*, or coral tree, so called from its splendid red flowers, is used for the same purpose. A plain covered with cacao plantations, shaded by *Erithrinas*, presents a splendid appearance, the brilliant blooms covering the whole with a sheet of flame-colored flowers.

One hundred and fifty of the perfect cacao beans or nuts are valued at one dollar, and are used by the Indians as a kind of money. The chocolate made from the cacao of Nicaragua is celebrated for its refreshing and strongly nourishing qualities, and is the favorite beverage of the inhabitants. Much depends upon the skill with which it is made; the thin drink which passes under that name with us, being but a meagre imitation.

Cacao estates require a longer cultivation to bring them to maturity than any other, except forest trees, but they are much the most valuable. A good plantation yields twenty ounces to every tree, which, at \$25 the quintal, gives a return of \$300 per annum, to every thousand trees, and for each laborer. The plantation visited by Mr. S. had ninety-five thousand trees, valued at one dollar each. This culture requires but little machinery, and is perhaps the most agreeable occupation to which one who desires leisure could devote himself.

The account given by Mr. S. of political disturbances in Nicaragua, which he found in a state of revolution, are highly interesting and important; but the mere abstract of them would occupy too large a space for insertion here.

Chapter VI. is a very well written sketch of the discovery of Grenada in 1522, and of its natural features, and occupation by the Spanish colonists.

On the Sunday following the arrival of our chargé, General Munôs, the most popular military chief of Nicaragua, and, in general, the representative of order, and of the true interests of the state, arrived at Grenada with a portion of the army. His coming was made a celebration by the inhabitants, who decorated their houses and received him with military honors. Gen. Munôs commands great respect in Nicaragua, and has the sympathy of the army, and, in general, of the more intelligent and patriotic among the people. He is described by Mr. S. as a gentleman of fine military appearance, with an air of greatness and command. His countenance was animated, but stern, with the expression of a humane, chivalrous, and highly edu-

cated man. He spoke of the troubles of his country with all the sincerity and regret of one who identified his own honor with hers, and gave a full and satisfactory account of their origin and tendency. On the subject of English aggressions, and the recent seizure of San Juan by a British force, he spoke with great vehemence and bitterness. He expressed the hope that at some day the sympathy and aid of the United States might be extended to a sister republic, to rescue her from the ruinous interference and intrigues of a foreign power.

A number of Americans were at Grenada, and the journey to Leon, the capital, was undertaken in an armed company of not less than twenty-five persons. Traveling in Nicaragua was at that time slow and troublesome. Goods were transported upon very frail and clumsy ox-carts, of which the wheels were "solid sections cut from mahogany or some other hard wood." The transit enterprise of Vanderbilt and Company, we are informed, has introduced great improvements, such as a steamer traversing the lakes, and an open road for carriages.

Enchanted with the beauty of the region, our traveler indulges in a very pretty apostrophe to a beautiful Indian village, whose name, Nindiri, strikes the ear musically. "Nindiri, beautiful Nindiri! nestling beneath thy fragrant, evergreen roof of tropical trees, entwining their branches above thy smooth avenues, and weaving green domes over the simple dwellings of thy peaceful inhabitants! Thy musical name, given thee long ages ago, perhaps when Rome was young, has lost nothing of its melody; *Neenda*, water, and *Diria*, mountain, it still tells us, in an ancient and almost forgotten tongue, that thou slumberest now, as of yore, between the lake and the mountain." Nothing could exceed the beauty of this and of other Indian villages, as they are described by the full and patient pencil of this faithful narrator and traveler. His sketches of quiet and domestic scenes, amid these primitive retreats, move a strong poetic emotion, and awaken a longing desire to visit regions of such wonderful beauty.

Volcanoes attract our traveler's attention at every step of the journey. Their lavas, spread over the surface, compose the richest soils, and many still send up ominous volumes of volcanic smoke. One of the glassy varieties of lava beds on the road beyond Nindiri is described as resembling a plain of cast iron, the surface broken and drawn like glass, into cutting striae and ridges. This was a stream that flowed from *El Infierno de Masaya*, "the hell of Masaya," an eruption of which occurred as late as the year 1670. Of this eruption and of the mountain itself, Oviedo, the Spanish historian of these regions, has given a full description.

The entrance of Mr. S. at Managua, on the lesser lake, as a citizen and representative of the United States, was made a great affair by the inhabitants, and afforded comic scenes. The appearance of the town at dusk presented only interminable ranges of low houses and huts, and a great church, on the Plaza or public square, with a white archway. He was received that night at the rude but hospitable mansion of a Nicaraguan, who had accompanied him on the journey. Supper was hardly finished before a joyous tumult, the squeaking of fiddles, the cracking of fire-arms, and the shouts of an excited multitude, announced that the inhabitants of Managua had come to pay their voluntary respects and to give a patriotic welcome to the representative of the great Republic. The cries of *Vivas los Estados Unidos, Vivas los Americanos del Norte*, announced the good-will, the enthusiasm and the impatience of the people. The crowd burst into the house. The alcaldes (aldermen) came first, followed by a crowd of fiddlers. Then came the people in solid column, "their upturned, swarthy faces, looking singularly wild and forbidding under the light of their torches." The alcaldes formed a guard about our chargé, and kept off the rushing, suffocating crowd, who seemed ready to devour him with their vehement welcome. The first alcalde made a speech of welcome, highly patriotic, naming the people of the United States as friends and brothers of the Nicaraguans. Then the crowd *would* shake hands, and our chargé, for the easier fulfilment of this painful duty, instructed his companions to assist in disposing of the hundreds. To make an end, a judicious invitation was extended to all by our chargé to drink his health at the posada; the supper had been incontinently swept off the table by these uninvited guests, and "while we sat disconsolately waiting for more to be cooked," says our traveler, "we joined in voting the whole system of lionizing a bore." This, however, was but the beginning of trouble, for the crowd returned, and insisted on a procession, in grand style, with flag and music, and all the *Americanos del Norte* in advance, marching through the principal streets with vast enthusiasm. All this excitement, of which our traveler gives a good-natured and very laughable description, was called out by the recent hopes of the Nicaraguans for an offensive and defensive alliance, to be formed with their republican brothers of the north, against the formidable aggressions and ruinous intrigues of the foreign minister of Great Britain, "the fire-brand of Europe," Lord Palmerston.

We pass over with regret our traveler's excellent narrative of adventures and scenes on the way to Leon, the capital of

Nicaragua. His reception by the government was given with the utmost pomp and ceremony, and with an earnestness and affection truly touching and extraordinary. He was welcomed as the *avant courier* of Nicaraguan prosperity and liberty, and his every word caught up as a new source of hope and encouragement, for an oppressed, but innocent and deserving people.

The beautiful and ancient city of Leon is situated within sight of the great volcano of Momotombo, on the western slope of those regions that extend between Lake Managua and the Pacific. It was founded in 1523 by Hernandez de Cordova, the conqueror of Nicaragua. The murder of a bishop on the site of the first settlement, which was at the foot of the great volcano of Momotombo, at the head of Lake Managua, called down upon it, says tradition, the curse of the Holy Pontiff; and the inhabitants, in consequence, moved the site. It stands in the middle of the great plain of Leon, about midway between lake and ocean. On both sides, deep ravines are supplied with perpetual springs, which furnish water to the inhabitants. The city covers a large area of ground, and is laid out in squares. The houses, well built of clay, (*adobe*,) inclose each a separate court-yard, filled with trees. The gardens in the rear are very beautifully laid out and carefully cultivated; they are, indeed, the greatest luxury and ornament of the city. In the door-ways and balconied windows of the principal houses, the ancient Spanish or Moorish taste has been observed. Some, however, are built after Grecian styles. Of late years windows have become more numerous in these dwellings; coming in with other improvements. Coats of arms are inscribed over some of the doorways, or sometimes prayers, or a passage from the Bible. The señoritas sit at evening in the balconies to receive their visitors, or return the salutations of passing friends. Young gentlemen saunter through the streets, often with a guitar, and the songs and salutations of the cavaliers, passing slowly on foot or on horseback, give an air of gayety and sociality to the city. The interiors display great comfort in their arrangements, the rooms being constructed with due regard to a sultry climate, requiring constant ventilation. Few are ceiled, the greater number reaching to the tiles, through which the air freely rises. Floors have brick or marble pavements, for coolness. The windows are never glazed. Meals, and the indispensable *siesta*, or afternoon nap, are taken in the corridors which surround the court-yard, where hammocks are swung for the inmates and visitors. Very little interior decoration is used. The style of these

houses is clearly Asiatic and Moorish. The streets of Leon are broad, and paved to prevent dust, which in the dry season would otherwise be a great discomfort.

Every important city in Central America has its ancient cathedral; built in the old times of conquest and affluence. The representations of these given by our traveler in the illustrations of his work, discover nothing remarkable, except by comparison with the huts and low dwellings that surround them.

Gage, a traveler who wrote in 1665, says of Leon, that it is called "Mahomet's Paradise;" and is the best built city in America. He describes the great luxury and taste of the inhabitants in their houses and gardens; and says of them that they lead a "delicious, lazy, idle life, not aspiring to trade or traffic." This original luxury of the colonists has, however, been seriously broken up by the late succession of wars and revolutions, of which Leon has been the centre.

In a small room of the great cathedral of St. Peter, at Leon,—a structure that has served alternately as a church and fortress,—our traveler was shown the portraits of all the bishops of Leon since the foundation of the colony. From the roof is one of the finest views in the world, toward the plain and the Pacific on the one hand, and the nine central volcanoes on the other.

Mr. S. is decidedly favorable to the people of Nicaragua, in his description of their habits. They are scrupulously clean, and almost invariably temperate. Their festivities and social parties are politely and very gracefully conducted, in a manner showing the refinement and delicacy of the ancient Spanish race. Morality is strictly upheld by the more educated and intelligent; and were it not for the unhappy mixture of indolence, inherited perhaps, but confirmed by want of occupation, and the excessive luxury of a region where it is impossible to starve, or perish of cold, there is nothing but their religion, or rather their antique superstition, to separate the Nicaraguans from the more civilized and powerful nations who affect to despise them.

Our traveler dwells much upon the food, which is somewhat different from that of the United States. The standard diet is *tortillas*, fresh Indian corn (maize) hulled by soaking in ley, and ground fine on a stone shaped for that purpose. A portion wet up with water is fashioned into a flat cake, and fried crisp on each side. The dish is aboriginal. *Frijoles* are simply baked beans, and are an indispensable article of food, forming, with *tortillas*, the diet of the country. Beef, pork,

eggs, chickens with rice, plantains, and a profusion of fruit and vegetables, afford an excellent variety of cheap, wholesome, and delicate food. Food enough to sustain a family for a week can be purchased for the value of six cents.

It is unnecessary to enlarge, with our traveler, upon the abundance and variety of delicious tropical fruits that abound in the gardens of Leon. It is a region that produces, under its admirable and healthful climate, almost every necessary and luxury of life.

Chapter X. of the personal narrative of Mr. S., offers to the reader a mass of curious and well selected information upon the civil, domestic, and military affairs of Nicaragua, and gives especially a description of the conquest and treatment of the aborigines, the Aztecs, whose descendants form the majority and most industrious portion of the inhabitants at the present day. The reader will, we think, enjoy especially a description of a beautiful suburban villa, now in ruins, called the Bishop's Baths, which must have been one of the most exquisite of residences. All about Leon, ancient luxury has made gardens, fountains, and pleasure grounds the most attractive possible. In the hands of a people like ourselves, this region, marvelous for its natural capacity, would become the wonder of the world.

Among the pleasing incidents of his journey, Mr. S. mentions a visit from the municipal authorities of the Indian village of Subtiaba, "who," he adds, "are, in their way, the sturdiest republicans in Nicaragua." An address was presented to him, in Spanish and Indian, which was excellent in language and in sentiment. The deputation were dressed in white, and carried a gold-headed cane, as insignia of office. They had heard that the traveler was a great friend of the Indians, and they wished to know something about their red brothers of the United States. They offered to conduct him to a spot where ancient stones, of Aztec origin, had been exhumed, and showed an intelligent interest in the antiquities of their own race. A translation of their address is given by Mr. S. It is more discreet, serious, and applicable, than Spanish addresses presented to him by the dignitaries of Nicaragua.

The visit of Mr. S. to Subtiaba, which was, not long ago, a populous and powerful municipality, is one of the most interesting features of his narrative. Among these Indians he found education pretty well advanced, and they showed an intelligent interest in his proceedings.

The Indians of Nicaragua, of the aboriginal race, the most numerous portion of the inhabitants, are by no means

the least intelligent. They are docile and industrious, of lower stature than the Indians of the north, but well formed, very strong in body, and of a disposition and expression singularly amiable and mild. The women are sometimes exceedingly pretty, with figures gracefully and classically moulded. These Indians are brave and obedient soldiers, but not inclined to war. They fight with desperate obstinacy when roused, and endure long marches and the severities of a campaign better than any troops in the world. In the civil wars of 1838-9, says Mr. S., the Indian battalion of Subtiaba, marched triumphantly from one end of Central America to the other. Leon has often owed its defence to these troops, and none are more serviceable in such a country. They are also the agriculturists of the state; and are admirably adapted for such employment by their docility and patience. The manufacture of cloth and domestic utensils is still a part of their occupation. Our traveler notices and describes the original distaff or spindle of the native women, and gives a drawing of the same. It is more ingenious than the ancient distaff of Asia, adding the principle of the fly-wheel to that of the spindle. The aboriginal method of weaving was very simple. The warp stretched between two sticks, the woof was introduced slowly, between the alternate threads, by another stick. Thread of cotton is dyed by these Indians, of a brilliant purple, before weaving. The dye is the spume or liquor of a shell-fish found along the shore of the Pacific. The shell is taken alive. A slight pressure upon the valve that closes the mouth, causes the dye to ooze out, and through this the thread is drawn, and the fish returned alive to the sea. This thread formerly sold at ten and fourteen dollars the pound.

The potter's wheel was not used by the Indians, their water-jars and other fabrics of clay being made entirely by the hand. Water-jars are left porous, as in Egypt, to cool by evaporation. Domestic wares of clay are made very smooth and regular, and painted of a jetty hue and lustre.

Their common dress is very simple—the women wearing either a square piece of cloth or a skirt, about the hips, leaving the upper part of the body exposed; and the men, drawers of white cotton, reaching from the hips to the knees. The holiday costume is more complicated, girls wearing a dress with long skirt and short sleeves, belted at the waist, and very much ornamented with embroidery; and men a full costume of snow-white cotton cloth. All classes are fond of ornaments. Young women braid their hair in tails or chaplets, and carry a profusion of beads, flowers, and gold or silver

ornaments. Every person wears a small cross suspended from the neck.

The institutions of property in land are communal, in some respects, the proprietorship being in the state or municipality, and a rent or tax exacted each year for the public treasury.

In the municipality of Subtiaba, Mr. S. informs us, the lands are held by the corporation under a charter; as much being granted to each man as is necessary for the support of himself and his family. The tax for so much, is from half a dollar to two dollars a year. This practice is said to be aboriginal. In nations of the primeval races, like those of Egypt, of India, and of America, the idea of property and sovereignty in the individual was unknown; and though, as Mr. S. observes, "*the right to live*" was acknowledged, the right of absolute property and sovereignty was yet to be developed by the institutions of the northern nations. No man under the primitive institutions of Mexico and Central America, "was supposed," says Mr. S., "to be entitled to more land than was necessary to his support;" such operations as those of coal miners, iron founders, and other modes of industry, requiring a great extent of land, being unknown; or, if known, made a monopoly by the king and the priests.

It was the policy of the Spanish conquerors to leave many of the aboriginal institutions, both of religion and of government, to be incorporated with their own, in the control and conversion of their Indian subjects. "It was a policy of conciliation," says Mr. S., "made necessary, no doubt, by the vast disparity of numbers between the invaders and those whom they subdued."

The conquest of Nicaragua, like that of Mexico and Peru, was attended with tremendous cruelties and extortions. Las Casas, the pious Bishop of Chiapa, charges enormities upon the governor or tyrant of Nicaragua, quite worthy of a Spanish subjugator. "They committed murders and robberies," he says, "more than it is possible for pen to relate. Upon the slightest pretexts the soldiers massacred the inhabitants without regard to age, sex, or condition." They reduced thousands to slavery, and extorted what they pleased, killing those who refused or were unable to comply with their demands. The result was a famine, and the consequent death of multitudes of the inhabitants. They divided amongst themselves the pleasant gardens and rich fields of the natives, and compelled these poor creatures to endure the most distressing labor, carrying heavy timber over the mountains for ships. Ships' loads were taken from Nicaragua to Peru, and sold there as slaves. Las

Casas estimates, says Mr. S., that not less than half a million of natives were thus drawn out of Nicaragua alone. It was, before that, one of the best peopled countries in America. Oviedo relates that certain Spaniards in his time having been slain by their Indian vassals, the governor ordered eighteen chiefs to be seized and exposed to dogs, who tore them in pieces in the public square of Leon.

If any doubt remains in the mind of enlightened persons in regard to the advance of these countries consequent upon modern republican revolutions, they have only to know, that, at this day, the aborigines of Nicaragua are secure from all oppression and persecution, and from every cruelty except those of civil wars, introduced among the states of Central America by the late mischievous interference of the British foreign office under the direction of Lord Palmerston. The system of *peonage*, or debt-slavery, almost equal in atrocity to the Norman custom of imprisonment for debt, is unknown in Nicaragua. The Indian labors under no political disabilities; he may hold the highest offices in the church, the state, or the army. In some parts of Central America, the old rancor of the remnants of Spanish aristocracy, has bred dissensions and jealousies of caste, between the whites and the Indians, leading to the most deplorable results. These jealousies would rapidly disappear in the presence of immigration from the United States, and the employment of the active spirits of all classes in new and profitable kinds of industry. Indian jealousy in Yucatan and Guatemala has desolated whole provinces, and in the former even now threatens the extinction of the white race. In Nicaragua it has not been so excited, and may possibly be repressed forever by the changes induced by immigration.

The Indians of Nicaragua must not be confounded, says Mr. S., with the roving predatory tribes of the north. They are of Toltec origin, more especially those in the vicinity of Leon. Their regular features, and clear and cheerful expression, also distinguish them from less intelligent and more ferocious tribes about the ancient city of Nicaragua. They are capable of high improvement, and will form, if tolerably well treated, an excellent free population about the cities and manufactories, when Nicaragua shall have been re-colonized from the United States. "I have found," says Mr. S., "some really comprehensive minds among them, men of quick and acute apprehension, and great energy and decision of character."

Chapter XI. narrates how our traveler attempted the dangerous ascent of the volcano of Momotombo, and failed

through the severity of the labor under a tropical sun. The latter part of this chapter relates a curious anecdote, illustrating the Spanish method of "converting the heathen." At Subtiaba, he was shown many remnants of idols of Toltecan origin, some partly buried in the earth and overgrown with forest and thorn bushes. Here he discovered the remains of an ancient altar in the forest, one of the *teocallis*, or altar-platforms of the ancient worship. It was two hundred feet long, sixty broad, and ten in elevation. Large trees were rooted in the ruin. Fragments of sculpture lying around, showed that it had been partly demolished by the Spaniards, at no very distant period. The guide assured our traveler that he could remember the time when the Indians came secretly to worship at this altar, and perform religious dances. To this day, the suppression of the ancient idolatry is owing to the continued vigilance of the priests,—a proof of the slight hold taken upon the minds of the aborigines by Catholic instruction.

Idols exhumed near Subtiaba were brought to Mr. S., as a special favor, by his Indian friends, who alone knew the secret of their burial. It is related by Oviedo, that the good brother, Francisco de Bobadilla, of the Order of Mercy, converted the Indians of Nicaragua by a singular and profitable operation. He obliged them each, to the number of forty thousand, in three months, to be baptized, and to pay every man forty grains of cacao, on being received into the church. He also got leave to throw down the idols; but when he was about to destroy them, they were taken away secretly in the night and buried. These were, in all probability, the idols brought to Mr. S., and which he sent afterward by the way of Cape Horn to Washington.

The most amusing at least, if not the most valuable, part of the narrative of Mr. S., is certainly the description of Spanish customs and superstitions.

There is but little to interest the pleasure-seeker in Leon, as it now is, after the novelty wears off. The indolent habits of the Spaniards, though they have perfected the luxury of ease and repose, have nothing attractive to an American of the north in his better moments. The "public amusements" are the cock-pit, and an occasional exhibition of a pantomimic equestrian character, bull-baiting, and religious dramas or mysteries. The cock-pit is open every Sunday afternoon. It is an enclosure in a yard, surrounded by benches for the spectators, who are admitted at one medio a head. Each person may bring his bird, if he chooses, for which a certain sum is paid, one-fourth of which goes into the city treasury. The

cocks are armed with long sword-shaped gaffs, artificial spurs, with which they kill each other very quickly. This sport is declining much of late years in respectability, and the cock-pit is poorly attended. Cock-fighting is, nevertheless, a private amusement of all classes, though the public cock-pit be out of fashion. None are fonder of this amusement than the priests, in whose corridors a dozen fine cocks may almost always be found.

Gaming is a passion in all Spanish countries, but in Nicaragua less than in others. The favorite game is *monte*. Billiard-rooms are common at Leon, and the lower gaming-houses are nightly crowded by the people.

The governments of the Central American states after the Revolution adopted our institutions, and undertook severe reforms. Bull-fighting was prohibited, but has since revived under a milder form. On a festival day, our author saw a bull-fight in the square of one of the churches. The square was inclosed for the purpose. "The roof and towers of the church" were covered with spectators, mostly women. A bull was dragged into the square by a lasso attached to the horns, and made fast to a post in the centre. A saddle was with difficulty fixed upon his back, and the dangerous honor of riding him accepted by an adventurous matador, whose ride was not diminished of its peril by the fireworks and crackers fixed to the tail and horns of the infuriated beast. The rider was soon dashed from his seat, and ran off without apparent injury, and very little to the satisfaction of the crowd, who looked to see him a good deal hurt, to give zest to the occasion. Another bull was introduced, and the rider succeeded in keeping his seat until the animal was exhausted. This was not all. Four bulls were now let loose, and made furious by the fireworks. A combat ensued, which ended in the death of one of them. This kind of amusement, it appears, is a favorite one in Nicaragua.

On another occasion, our traveler witnessed a solemnity called *Una Sagrada Funcion*, or sacred drama. The exhibition was given on a clear moonlight night, in the same square where he had witnessed the bull-fight. A stage was erected, with a curtain of variously-colored cloths, behind which the actors made ready for the performance. A frame-work of wood in front supported the tallow candles, which must have had a singular effect, blending with the clear moonlight. The spectators either stood conversing before the stage, which was raised some six feet above the ground, or brought chairs with them for greater comfort. The gentlemen brought long, naked

Toledos under their arms,—a precaution necessary at night, in a city in a state of revolution, and subject to night surprises.

This “mystery,” witnessed by our traveler, was no doubt the same species of entertainment with those exhibited by the priests and monks, and which gave so great scandal from their blasphemy, in the days of the Reformation of Luther. In almost every part of the world they have fallen into disuse, or been replaced by the opera and the drama. In Central America, a people who retain the customs and religious notions of the 16th century, continue to endure and admire the Funcion, or “mystery play.”

A wretched orchestra of fiddles and clarionets kept up a semblance of music, of a melancholy character, intended, perhaps, to represent an overture. Then came forward a long-haired poet of the Byron-collar variety, and delivered a poem on Christ, whom he addressed somewhat in the sentimental style of a lover. This deplorable piece was well enunciated by the poet, and loudly applauded by the audience. In the midst of this, says Mr. S., “I heard a regular heavy tramp, and turning, saw a detachment of troops marching slowly through the crowd, their arms glancing in the moonlight. They defiled into the shade, close to the wall of the church, and at the word of command, their muskets came down with a startling clang upon the pavement. There they stood like bronze statues, during the whole evening. This incident will illustrate the condition of the country better than an essay.”

Next in order came vocal music of a very poor and nasal character. It would seem that Nicaragua is in no sense a musical country. Then followed the “mystery,” or Biblical drama, into which a clown was introduced, (as at the circus,) a kind of gay sugaring to a dose of melancholy stuff. The clown, Mr. S. informs us, was the only bearable part of the entertainment. The dialogue was a solemn recitative, without action or passion of any kind. Mr. S. gives us no account of the substance of this play or of the characters. In the genuine mystery, God the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, were made to appear in person, and to converse among themselves, like the gods of heathen mythology.

After this account of the mystery, follows one of an exhibition of rope dancing, which raised a vast excitement in the city of Leon, and brought the whole population upon their feet; such was the dearth of amusement, and of serious occupation. The description is humorous, and well illustrates the simplicity and sociality of the Nicaraguans.

Saints' days in Leon are festival days, and there are a great many of them. Every one dresses on these occasions, and a vast quantity of fire-works are let off. The taste for fire-works in these countries, as in Brazil, is truly Chinese. Rockets in Brazil are given to a saint as a sacrifice, or offering. The priests of course monopolize the fun of letting them off. It is not at all improbable that the simple superstition of these half heathen communities may fancy that a rocket is more likely to attract the notice of a saint, because it rises higher than anything else. Saints' days must bear a very close resemblance, in these countries, to the fourth of July in our own; the noise-making, bell-ringing, &c., being about the same.

Whether "a dance of devils," described by Mr. S. as one of the most remarkable features of St. Andrew's festival at Leon, be the Indian dance of devils, (as it is curiously pictured by Catlin, in his great work on the Indians,) converted to a Catholic amusement, or whether the Indian dance is a degenerate representation of the Catholic masked dance, or mummery, of three centuries since, is a curious question for the antiquary. It is perhaps a mixture of both; for we find in Oviedo's account of the volcano at Nindiri a description of a genuine Toltecán devil, very much after the idea of the European Evil One. The devils in this dance had barbed tails. One in black wore a death's head, and clanked a couple of human thigh bones. Mr. S. thinks the dance itself was borrowed from the Indians, and insists that the music was aboriginal. One masker beat upon a drum made from a calabash. Others blew long reeds, which gave out an unearthly wail, like the cry of a death agony. This music is described by Cortez as terrible to his soldiers when heard at night. Mr. S. relates that the devils favored him with an extra display, "but were high-spirited devils, and would not take money from a stranger."

On All-Saints' day there was a grand procession of all the saints, including the little ebony carved image of St. Benito. The images were paraded through the streets and carried to visit all the churches in succession; after which followed an afternoon of Carnival jollities. On this day they pelt all visitors with oranges, and form dancing circles about them, from which there is no escape but by a gratuity to the church; a method of "raising the wind" for charitable or priestly purposes, very like a masked ball for the conversion of the heathen. These image processions are of strictly Pagan origin, and came first from Egypt to Rome centuries before the Christian

era. They are fully depicted upon the monuments of the Nile.

Our traveler concludes his twelfth chapter with a somewhat sentimental comparison, in the true rhetorical style, of the jollity and quiet idleness of Leon, with the severe and sometimes unhealthy industry of a North American town. This strain is, however, as far as possible from the general tone of the work, and of its author. Life is longer and comfort purer, conversation more pleasurable, and the variety of legitimate pleasure far greater in North America than in Leon; and though the descriptions of the beautiful climate may tempt the industrious and talented American to secure for himself a portion of its rich enjoyments, he would take with him his manners, his morals, and his superior domestic refinements.

The spirit of reform has found its way more into Nicaragua than into any other of the Spanish or Portuguese American states. The influence of the Padres, the ancient Catholic priesthood, is sensibly diminished of late years, and a general desire of improvement is manifested in all classes. The reason of the decline of Catholic influence here, as in all other parts of the world, was in its opposition to the doctrines of equality and republican freedom. One of the first acts of the enlightened and liberal persons who led the Spanish American revolutions, was to prohibit the sale of Papal indulgences, which had been a considerable source of revenue to the church. The influence of the Padres was consequently thrown upon the side of the "Serviles," or faction of aristocracy; and from that influence, aided, as in the Italian, German, and all European states, in our day, by foreign intrigue, arose a series of political, and sometimes bloody and destructive revolutions. The priests soon found, however, that as they had become voluntary partisans they must share the consequences, and the respect with which they had been formerly treated was greatly lessened.

The Liberals, escaping from the tyranny of superstition, and having no Protestant influence to aid them, fell into deism and indifferentism, the condition of the most intelligent and influential persons in Nicaragua. Indeed, great numbers of the priesthood share in the general skepticism, and lead a perfectly worldly life.

During the Presidency of General Morazan, in 1829, an intrigue of the Archbishop was discovered against the state. The Archbishop was seized, and instantly banished from the country, on pain of death. A great number of monks and friars were expelled in a similar manner. Soon after, the legis-

lature of Guatemala decreed the suppression of convents and monasteries, and prohibited females from becoming nuns. The general Congress of Central America put an end, by law, to all religious orders throughout the republic.

Perfect religious liberty was proclaimed, Papal bulls prohibited, and the sale of all Papal dispensations of whatever character. In Honduras, the marriages of priests, hitherto only a regular and tolerated concubinage, were legalized, and their children legitimatized.

After the dissolution of the Confederacy of Central America, under foreign auspices, a reaction was begun, the Servile or aristocratic party triumphed, and the convents in Guatemala were re-established. In Leon, however, no attempt was made to restore the monasteries or convents.

"Subsequently to the dissolution of the confederacy, and under the direction of the Serviles, the convents of Guatemala were re-established, but the other states have persisted in the prohibitory action of 1829, or rather no attempt has been made to revive the monasteries suppressed under it. There were formerly, as I have already said, three convents in Leon; that of San Juan de Dios has been converted into a hospital; that of La Merced is only used by the government in case of need as a cuartel, or barracks. The largest, the Franciscan, although in a state of hopeless decay, is still watched over faithfully by the Padre Cartine. He has thus far preserved its precincts sacred from profane intrusion, and lingers silently amongst its dilapidated corridors, and weed-infested courts, like the antiquary amongst the tombs, the last of the powerful fraternity of San Francisco in Leon.

"The Padre Cartine is a learned man, in the continental acceptation of the term of two centuries ago. That is to say, he reads Latin and the Fathers, and is familiar with the Natural History of Pliny—the latest book on the subject with which he is acquainted, and which is his sole authority. The Padre is withal a mathematician, has a Latin edition of Euclid, and reads it once a year by way of amusement, and to refresh his memory. He is an architect, and has made a plan for the restoration of the convent, on a scale of splendor which would beggar a prince to carry out, and feels as anxious about its accuracy as if the masons were to commence to-morrow, and any defect in the plan would ruin the architectural effect of the structure for ever.

"I am not likely to forget my first visit to Padre Cartine. I found him seated in a broad arm-chair, in the principal room of his house. He had been a man of fine proportions, but was now a little corpulent, a defect only to be observed when he was standing. His head was of fine outline, large, and massive; and his face had an expression of intelligence, dignity, and equanimity, at once pleasing and impressive. He wore a dress of coarse, gray serge, bound at the waist by a rough pita cord, for he still kept up many of the austere practices of his order. The furniture of the house was plain and simple, and I believe all of the Padre's own manufacture. Upon a low bench extending around two sides of the room, was a most incongruous assortment of clocks, of every date, pattern, and country, from a tall cupboard contrivance of the last century, dingy with age, in the corner, through every intermediate variety, to a little German or French concern, which ticked spitefully from the opposite wall. There were cases without

clocks, and clocks without cases; besides a wilderness of weights, cords, pulleys, wheels, and springs; for the Padre was so passionately fond of clocks, that he not only kept an extensive variety of his own to tinker, but borrowed all of his neighbors', and encouraged the distant villagers to bring him theirs for gratuitous cleansing and repair. No Jew's second-hand furniture shop in Chatham-street could afford more than a very faint counterpart of this curious collection. The Padre observed that they attracted my attention, and commenced a philosophical lecture on horology, which I hastily brought to a close by suggesting a walk through the old convent and the church which had been attached to it. In the first courtyard were half a dozen deer, tame as kittens, which came bounding up at the sound of the Padre's voice; they licked his extended hand, and held down their heads to have them rubbed, but failing to cajole the Padre out of a plantain or tortilla, butted him playfully, and struck at him with well-feigned malice. Upon one side of this court the Padre had fitted up a private chapel. It contained a marble altar, a wax figure of Christ, and a great variety of valuable ornaments saved from the wreck of the monastery, and with which no earthly consideration could prevail upon the Padre to part. An expression, half of sorrow, half of pride, passed over the Padre's face as he held the door open, that we might see the precious contents of his oratory. From this he took us to a large room, his own private apartment, in which was the rough hide bed whereon he slept, and which contrasted strangely with a rich set of traveling wine and liqueur bottles, which he complacently displayed to us, (not badly filled, by the way,) in a secure closet. In another room the Padre had his workshop. In one corner was a foot-lathe of his own construction, in which he turned beads from the arm-bones of defunct Señoras, to be strung on consecrated rosaries, and sold for the benefit of piety and the church—whose interests have always wonderfully accorded. Here were kettles containing purified sulphur from the volcanoes, nitre, and charcoal, to be compounded for the glorification of the saints, the service of the Lord, and the utter desperation of heretics, in the form of bombas. Here, too, was a machine, also of the Padre's invention and construction, for grinding and polishing the glasses of spectacles; for the Padre, amongst his multifarious accomplishments, was an optician, the only one, probably, in all Central America. He had, in fact, constructed a telescope for the University of Leon, and astounded the citizens by showing them the rings of Saturn! "You are a most accomplished man, Padre," said I, glancing at his mechanical achievements. "Juguetes," playthings, mere playthings, responded the Padre, with a complacent smile, which was intended to be depreciatory. In the third courtyard, next the church, grew a magnificent mango tree. At its foot a mozo had been digging, to extirpate some burrowing animal, and had thrown up a variety of human bones, and amongst them a skull. Its delicate proportions attracted my attention, and I stepped aside and picked it up.

"Ah, Padre, this is a woman's skull—a girl's skull, I am sure! Padre, how came it here?"

"The Padre took it quietly from my hand, looked at it, and then gazed in an abstracted, reflecting manner upon the spot which it had occupied. After a few moments' silence, he spoke, deliberately removing the earth from the eye-sockets with his fore-finger:

"Ah, Señor! she was very beautiful, this girl. She was the youngest daughter of Señora M——! Heaven rest her soul! She died of the cholera in the year '37. Five thousand of our people died in four short months, Señor! The Senorita Inez! She was only sixteen years old, Señor; but yet a woman, and beautiful, very beautiful!"

"And the Padre held the delicate skull before him, as if it was clothed with flesh again, and he gazed upon the smiling face once more.

"'Very beautiful,' he soliloquized. 'She was amongst the first; there are five hundred buried in this very court, Señor,' said the Padre rapidly, turning towards me, and crossing himself. 'Five thousand in four months! in four short months!'

"The expression of the old man's face, as the memory of those four months came back upon him, showed how terrible and ineffaceable were the scenes which they had witnessed. 'She was very beautiful!' and the Padre placed the skull gently in the earth again, laid the delicate bones carefully around it, and with his naked hand scraped the loose earth above them.

"The interior of the *Eglesia del Recolección*, which has a most elaborate façade, covered with shields on which are exhibited all the prominent devices of the church, was dark and gloomy. The altar was a fine one, and the Padre kept a lamp burning constantly before an image of the Virgin, which looked spectral enough beneath its feeble rays. A number of pictures were suspended upon the walls, among which were a variety of saints frying complacently upon gridirons, smiling from stakes of impalement, or sailing smoothly away amongst a swarm of baby angels and bodiless cherubs, to a most substantial-looking heaven, elevated only a few yards above the earth. We ascended into the tower by a series of rickety stairs, with gaps here and there ranging from one to four steps, up which the prudent Padre did not essay to go. From this tower we obtained a fine view, second only to that to be had from the top of the *Cathedral*. As we descended, a huge owl, which we had startled from his roost in some dark corner of the tower, nearly knocked us over in his flight. We returned through the *Golgotha*, to the grand reception or clock-room, where the Padre showed us his plan for restoring the convent, in red and black ink, which required only a single thing to its realization, and that was precisely what the Padre did not know how to obtain, *viz.*, money! We nevertheless made him happy before leaving, by promising to write to the United States on his behalf, to obtain a grand clock for his church, which should exhibit three dials, and strike the hours. 'Con tres frentes!' repeated the Padre, calling after us as we passed down the street, 'with three dials!'

"The Padre ultimately became my landlord. I hired a house of him, which he had himself designed and built, opposite the old *convento*. It had a grand sala and two rooms on the street, with quarters for the servants, and a kitchen, arranged after the usual plan—altogether one of the most desirable buildings in Leon. It had before rented for six dollars per month, but as I was a particular friend of the Padre, I got it for nine. The Padre was really ashamed to ask that sum, but then he had written a religious pamphlet, which he wanted to publish, and I told him that I should be too happy to contribute to that laudable object, and that the house was worth twice the money—which was pretty good, considering that the best house in Leon rented for but fourteen dollars per month. The Padre had achieved a great triumph in painting the interior of this house. It was done in *fresco*, in a style as novel as complicated, and with as many colors as could conveniently be compounded. But the Padre's *chef d'œuvre* was the *menagerie*, as we called it, upon the wall of the servants' corridor. His models had been the figures of animals and objects represented in the Child's First Primer, or illustrated alphabet, a copy of which he must have obtained from the United States or England, for there was the entire series, commencing 'A was an Ape that ran after his tail,' down to 'Z was a Zebra who came from the Cape,' all depicted of large size, and in flaming colors. This fact will, perhaps, sufficiently illustrate the state of decorative art in Nicaragua.

"The Padre had a niece (*de facto*, oh skeptic!) who, with her mother, occupied a detached part of his own house, and over whom, as she was exceedingly pretty, he kept most rigorous watch. He gave out, for the benefit of gallants, that he would shoot the first who should be seen around the premises, and really kept a loaded musket for the purpose. The Padre was a man of his word, and the threat was effectual in its object; the gallants kept away. The last time I heard from Leon, a young American, from Boston, was diplomaticizing with the Padre for the hand of his sobrina; it went hard to resign her to a heretic, but the Padre's heart is soft, and even rocks yield to time. Boston and Leon; Massachusetts and Nicaragua; the omen is auspicious and significant!"

The above extracts are a favorable specimen of the style of Mr. Squier's "Narrative," though in all parts it is not written with equal taste and feeling. He observed all things and remembered all. His public office, as the representative of a powerful republic, at that time, at least, popular in Central America, and from which the more liberal and enlightened had gathered confident hopes of protection against the encroachments of Great Britain, opened all doors to him, and gave him the freest opportunities for observing the manners and habits of the people. The general impression of the book is favorable to the Spanish Americans, and especially to the Nicaraguans as a people, but most of all to the civilized Aborigines. It is not to be forgotten that in Nicaragua, now the gateway to California, slavery is abjured, and that all classes are politically equal; that the people are amiable and open in their manners, and fond of the society and intercourse of the free people of the United States; that they look to us for instruction and aid in their cause of liberal improvement; that they have repeatedly represented to the government of the United States their earnest desire to become our friends and allies, and, as soon as possible, a member of our grand republic. They not only invite, but offer every aid and advantage to a free and intelligent immigration into their territory. Their country is the richest in the world in vegetable and mineral productions, but needs the skill, the capital, and above all, the morality and industry of our citizens to develop its resources. Doubtless, nothing is more necessary to this people than a powerful republican influence from abroad, supported by religious and scientific instruction, by a free and rapid commercial intercourse, and protection against the unlawful and disgraceful meddlings and usurpations of British agents. By these agents, under the sanction of the foreign office of Great Britain, a third part of all their territory has been claimed, and in great part occupied, under the most futile and unfounded pretexts. Their

commerce has been broken up, factions generated in the bosom of their state, the public morals impaired by bribery and intimidation, their best seaport on the Atlantic side seized and garrisoned by British officials, and the entire country kept in perpetual tumult and discontent.

It is surely time for all serious men in America to turn their earnest attention to these beautiful and desirable regions, where opens at this day the finest field for religious, for political, and industrial improvement.

Our limits will not allow us to enter upon a review of the valuable papers, geographical, historical and political, which accompany the Personal Narrative of Mr. Squier. His account of the projected Interoceanic Canal will be an indispensable document to all who wish to understand the merits and difficulties of that enterprise. The political history and geographical account of Nicaragua is admirably arranged, and contains all the useful information necessary to those who are interested in the peaceful extension of our territory and of republicanism upon this continent. For the antiquarian, the illustrations of Aztec Antiquities by Mr. S., which form an important addition to these volumes, will need no recommendation from us, the reputation of the author in that department being long since established, and the field given up to him.

Two volumes more compact, or better charged with the kind of information most pleasing to an American, have not come from any press. Their effect must be to create a strong and permanent interest in the people, the country, and the great enterprise which they so vividly describe.

ART. VII.—MOSES STUART.

BY REV. ALVAH HOVEY,

Newton Theological Institution

WHEN a man of great energy, virtue and worth, has finished his work, and gone from our sight, it is well to recall the leading events of his life; to notice the extent and character of his labors, and draw from the survey motives for nobler effort and enterprise. And more: We should not withhold from his memory a tribute of respect. Those who inherit stations of power, whether occupying them worthily or not, rarely fail of flattery while they live, and eulogy after they are dead. Those, too, who are born in obscurity, but endowed with sufficient capacity and ambition to rise by the pathway of violence to posts of distinction among men, are loudly praised: and not unfrequently by such as they have trampled to the earth in their upward course. “Great ill is an achievement of great power,” and this power, though associated with deep and awful guilt, often commands the admiration of the many. We do not ask for those who consecrate uncommon abilities to the service of our Master, an equally flattering treatment in the world. They do not seek it. They look for a better reward. They thank no one for extravagant commendation while here, or even after they are beyond the evil influence of human praise. But since their virtues, though imperfect, are bright and beautiful by contrast with the spirit of the world,—since they are leaders in the Christian army, and illustrate well the divine efficacy of our common faith, it is but just to them and due to a religion so elevating and purifying as to produce such characters, to put on record the principal facts of their history, and at the same time a testimony, discriminating, if possible, to their worth and usefulness. The writer believes the late Professor Stuart to have been one of this class,—a great and good man: whose history is worthy of being studied by all who love the Bible. His boldness in asserting and defending the vital truths of Christianity, his energy and overflowing earnestness of thought, his power of rapid acquisition, his high conception of the work of an interpreter, and the deep impression which his teachings have left on the minds of his pupils, show that he was such a man; and will be a sufficient justification for the present remarks. We are indebted to the discourse of Professor Park, delivered at the funeral of Professor Stuart, for the following facts:

MOSES STUART was born in Wilton, Connecticut, March 26, 1780. He was a farmer's son. At the age of twelve he became absorbed in the perusal of "Edwards on the Will." In his fifteenth year, he was sent to an academy in Norwalk, Connecticut, for the purpose of perfecting his English education. Urged by his preceptor to prepare for a collegiate course, he began his Latin Grammar with a characteristic impetus. In one evening he learned the four conjugations of verbs; in another, the sixty rules of syntax. In three days the principles of the whole grammar were in his mind, and he found himself a member of a class who had devoted several months to the language. Alike rapid was his progress in the French.

In May, 1797, he entered the Sophomore Class of Yale College. At this period his tastes were pre-eminently for the mathematics, but he was eager to grasp all knowledge. He graduated in 1799, and had, with the entire approbation of the class, the salutatory oration, which was then considered the first appointment. During the next year he taught in an academy in North Fairfield, Connecticut; a part of the following year he was the principal of a high-school in Danbury, in the same state. Here he commenced the study of the law, and soon removing to Newtown, he devoted himself entirely to this study. He was admitted to the bar in 1802. In many respects, he was well fitted for an advocate. He had a quick and strong memory, a rare vividness of conception, a fertility of illustration, a readiness of utterance, a quickness of repartee, and an authoritative manner, which promised a brilliant career in the legal profession.

About the time of his admission to the bar, he was called to a tutorship in Yale College, where he remained about two years. During the winter of 1802-3 he was converted, and in the early part of 1803 connected himself with the church in Yale College. Under the direction of President Dwight, he now prepared himself for the work of a preacher. In March, 1806, he was ordained in New-Haven, as successor to Dr. Dana, where, during three years and ten months, he labored with extraordinary zeal and success. On the 28th of February, 1810, he was inaugurated Professor of Sacred Literature in the Theological Seminary at Andover. Here he remained until his death, which occurred January 4, 1852. Besides his labors at the seminary, he prepared the following works for publication: Commentaries on Hebrews, Romans, the Apocalypse, Daniel, Ecclesiastes and Proverbs; seven editions of his Hebrew Grammar, Hebrew Chrestomathy, Translation of Rödiger's Gesenius, thirteen printed sermons, thirty-four articles for the

Biblical Repository, eleven articles for the *Bibliotheca Sacra*; also articles in the *North American, Christian and Methodist Quarterly Reviews*; also essays, letters, and translations from the Latin and German. And this is by no means a complete list of his published writings.

As his commentaries are probably the most elaborate and permanent of his productions, it may be well, in this place, to notice some of their peculiarities. These works breathe the spirit of earnest faith. To read them is to feel that their author esteemed the Bible a revelation from God, and the supreme standard of duty. The principles taught by it are never treated as of doubtful excellence or authority. They are pronounced holy, and just, and good, with such vigor and emphasis of language, as plainly declare the heart of the writer to be in his words. We perceive that no research is deemed too comprehensive and thorough, no labor too protracted and earnest, if employed in ascertaining the exact import of God's messages; while, on the other hand, no reverence is too deep, or submission too unreserved, to their authority. This strong belief in the full inspiration of the Scriptures, and solemn interest in what they teach, give unusual vivacity to many, even critical, discussions in these volumes. One catches the spirit of the writer, and presses on with anxiety to learn the issue. One perceives that to a thoughtful mind there are no trifles in the Word of God; that consequences are pending on every decision touching the meaning of terms or idioms as well as of complete sentences and trains of argument, which will be felt for good or ill in every subsequent investigation, and in the health and purity of the receiving spirit.

Again, these works of Professor Stuart are valuable for their learning. Many and various topics deeply interesting to the Christian, the interpreter, and the theologian, are elucidated in them. The sheaves garnered by other hands are used with a freedom becoming one who had earnestly toiled for himself in the great harvest field of knowledge. Along with the results of study on the part of European scholars, he has given us original and often sagacious comments of his own, upon a multitude of passages in the early Christian writers. The pages of his *Commentary on the Apocalypse* illustrate the wide range of his investigations; and the first volume of this work offers to the American scholar information which is not otherwise very accessible. The *Commentary upon Daniel* takes up, one by one, the objections raised by the keen, learned and tireless ingenuity of skepticism, against that portion of the Sacred Record, and shows their futility. In his work on *Ecclesiastes*, we

have, probably, an abler and truer development of the course of thought presented by the inspired Preacher, than can be found in any English author. It may be truly said, that all his commentaries deserve careful perusal for the true learning they embody. And this is high praise ; for, it must be admitted, that interpretation is an inductive science. The meaning of words, in the case of a dead language, can be ascertained only by a wide range of observation. Sometimes the preserved literature of such a language has terms which occur but once or twice, and the expositor must resort to kindred dialects for their true import. Thus the Arabic and Syriac throw light upon the Hebrew. A like careful induction of facts is requisite to a proper knowledge of the idioms of such a language. They cannot be made out by conjecture. So of national and ancient customs, whether domestic, social or civil ; and of those historical circumstances which often give a special appropriateness and power to language. Whoever adds such facts to our knowledge, performs the first and fundamental work of an interpreter.

Professor Stuart's principles of interpretation were also sound and clear. We do not, of course, mean to say they were faultless. His views, for example, respecting the nature and fulfilment of prophecy, may have been correct or incorrect ; and yet his conception of the means to be employed in ascertaining the sense of God's word be essentially right. He claimed to follow the grammatico-historical method. This method avails itself of just such a critical examination of words and phrases as must be employed in the study of Homer or Plato. It admits the force of short words as well as of long ones. It takes notice of the style of each writer, and does not expect that Paul and John will, in all cases, express in the same way the same essential truth. It recognizes the value of history, and especially of contemporaneous events, in explaining the language of an inspired writer. It calls upon the interpreter to combine all the scattered statements and hints relating to any period, so as to form, if possible, a consistent and plain narrative, and then to use this in elucidating the text. It looks to a thorough knowledge of oriental and Hebrew customs for assistance in arriving at the true import and beauty of countless expressions in the Bible, otherwise obscure or offensive. By the use of all such lawful means, it endeavors to elicit the genuine sense of the Sacred Record, and to guard against introducing into that record, thoughts, however just and philosophical, which are not there expressed.

It is obvious, that this method does not call in question the expositor's need of spiritual illumination. It only assumes

that such illumination does not supersede and render useless the ordinary means of acquiring a knowledge of language. The Holy Spirit may remove prejudice from the heart,—may give a humble, docile temper,—may guide the mind more rapidly and surely to a just view of what is taught,—may quicken its energies, and unfold to it the wider and deeper religious truths involved in many passages; but it will never perform the work of the Lexicon or Grammar; much less will it make language signify what these, perfected by all available means, forbid it to signify. For in that case the written Word would lose its value. The trumpet would give an uncertain sound. One could never rely upon the results of study, however patient and candid, unless by some infallible criterion he could be sure they were suggested or sanctioned by a special act of the Divine Spirit.

This method of interpretation, then, we believe correct and perfect in theory, but the application of it is extremely difficult. The rarest combination of judgment, impartiality, learning and piety, is put in requisition. Above all, one's love of truth needs to be purified seven times, and made stronger than ecclesiastical or social ties. A little prejudice or partiality may lead to fatal results. For many points are to be considered, and arguments weighed, and witnesses examined. Hence it will often be easy to justify, by plausible reasons, a false interpretation. We do not think Professor Stuart always escaped this danger. From his natural ardor, decision, and facility in collecting arguments, he was particularly exposed to error in this direction. We feel, when reading his expositions, far too frequently, that he is endeavoring to carry a point. We are not sure he has stated, with equal fidelity and force, the reasons for and against his views. The judge is too often lost in the advocate. A suspicion half enters the mind that our author was constituted by nature for the bar, not for the bench; and that we ought to brace our minds somewhat against the force of his reasoning and eloquence. Though we are borne along by the stirring earnestness of his language, we are not quite satisfied. And there is, we believe, some reason for this feeling beyond that of mere style. The genius and spirit of the man are embalmed in his works; and the impression made upon us by them, that he may have misled himself, and may mislead others, is not always unjust or useless. A comparison of his article in the Biblical Repository, of 1833, entitled: "Is the Manner of Christian Baptism prescribed in the New-Testament?" with Professor Ripley's able Review of this article, will sufficiently

justify our remark. We do not suppose that Prof. Stuart was strongly sectarian in his feelings. He possessed a very catholic and generous spirit. Yet we cannot read this examination of a question, which we have taken some pains to investigate, without a painful, irrepressible feeling of distrust in the writer's ability to comprehend the force of reasons which conflict with his previous views and religious sympathies. We cannot avoid asking ourselves whether all his discussions may not be deficient in the same way. Even when Professor Stuart's opinions are correct, we occasionally find them defended by unnecessary or doubtful arguments. Whatever view is adopted, must be fully sustained; whatever duty is inculcated, must be made to appear of fundamental importance. The proof must be overwhelming, the illustrations decisive. One of Professor Stuart's pupils mentioned to the writer, that during his course at Andover, Professor Stuart took occasion one day to address his class upon the importance of attending to certain rules, which he recommended for the preservation of health, closing with the remark, that by the careful observance of these rules he had been able to perform the great amount of labor involved in his teachings and writings. The next day he spoke to his class, giving the same rules, and after setting forth the danger of disregarding them, finished by saying, that from a neglect of their observance he had lived with one foot in the grave for the last thirty years. Both these statements were, no doubt, substantially correct, if proper allowance be made for the professor's style of expression.

We must add, that the commentaries of Professor Stuart are not sufficiently condensed. Most of them might be reduced to half their present size without the omission of one valuable thought. Had he executed this work of erasure and compression, their value would have been increased rather than diminished; and multitudes would have procured them who have been unable to do so at their present cost. But he had no relish for the work of revision, and, we believe, did not often engage in it. When composing for publication, he enters his study at the appropriate hour. Soon every faculty is brought to bear upon his chosen subject. Thoughts and "words flow apace." His pen is that of a swift scribe. Page after page is quickly covered, and the "winged words" are fixed in their final order. For as the successive sheets are pushed aside, the author seems to say in heart—it is well;—"what I have written, I have written." But the reader will sometimes say, it is not well; this is but the half-finished

statue, large, and strong; but the language of its features is not entirely simple, and coherent; many strokes of the chisel are needed before that rare beauty, symmetry, and unity of moral expression, will appear, which we desire to behold. But Professor Stuart is not the only eminent man who has erred in this particular. We have vainly attempted to read with interest the works of Dr. Chalmers. His array of words is truly formidable, and we look upon Bishop Butler's style as possessing almost poetical attractions, when compared with his northern brother. No man, who desires to have his writings live and be read after his own death, should spare himself the toil of reducing them to the smallest compass, consistent with perspicuity. This remark, however, should be limited to works of philosophy, science, and criticism; those which propose to instruct, rather than to entertain mankind.

But Divine Wisdom does not often endow the same individual with all desirable attributes. To one man are given those capacities and tastes which especially qualify him for the work of an author. He is willing to spend years of severe toil, weighing his reasons and examining his inferences, and chastising his language, for the hundredth time, before sending his book to the world. To another are given the energy, promptness, enthusiasm and eloquence, which at once mould the opinions, rouse and guide the impulses, of his contemporaries, and through them are diffused abroad, and transmitted to coming ages. Now the influence of this latter individual is as permanent, and generally more extensive, than that of the former. Only it is indirect, and may be modified and improved by the activity of those minds through which it is conveyed, from one generation to another. We are convinced that Prof. Stuart was pre-eminently qualified to perform a great work for his own age; and were his writings to prove utterly worthless hereafter—were they to be superseded, from this hour, by other works upon the same topics, still his highest claim upon our gratitude and respect would remain the same; for in this case the man was greater than his writings. He was a reformer. He called those about to enter the Christian ministry to the study of the Bible, and taught them how to engage in the work. He invited them to drink of the waters pure at the fountain. He stimulated them by his example; roused them by his appeals; prepared implements for them to use in their new field of labor; and succeeded in making them understand its boundless extent, and precious fruits ready to be gathered. Professor Park says, in the discourse noticed above:

"We look for no perfect one on earth; and had the master, who is taken from our head to-day, been more punctiliously accurate, he would have been less impulsive; and had he been less impulsive, he would not have stirred up the minds of the clergy; and had he not aroused men to Biblical studies, he would not have fulfilled his mission; for his mission was to be a pioneer, to break up hard soil, to do a rough work, to introduce other laborers into the vineyard which he had made ready. If, then, he lapsed, here and there, in sacred literature, who are the men among us that correct him? Chiefly, the men who are in some way indebted to him for the power to make the correction. Chiefly, the men who have received from him the impulses by which they have learned to criticise him. Chiefly, the men who would have remained on the dead level of an empirical philology, had they not been quickened to an upward progress by his early enthusiasm. If the eagle, in his flight toward the sun, be wounded by the archer, the arrow that is aimed at him is guided by a feather from the eagle's own broad wing."

These sentences are full of truth, and it is not easy to overestimate the value of Prof. Stuart's labors in this direction. He succeeded in awakening an interest in Biblical Criticism; first, in the minds of his own pupils, and then, indirectly, in those of a great multitude who never saw his face. This influence was all golden. Powerful and good, honorable to God, and necessary to the church, may it never cease to be felt! There is no danger of our giving undue attention to the sacred Scriptures. There is no prospect of our being able, for a long time to come, to appropriate all the facts which are accessible to the Biblical student, and are fitted to aid in unfolding more perfectly the meaning of God's Word.

Having never enjoyed the personal instructions of Prof. Stuart, the writer offers the following letter of Rev. Francis Wayland, D. D., as a vivid and beautiful delineation of the spirit and power manifested in his lecture-room, by the remarkable man who has gone to his reward:

"I entered the Seminary," says the President, "I think, in the year 1816, and remained there a year, being under Prof. Stuart's instructions during the whole time. I have never known any man who had so great a power of enkindling enthusiasm for study in a class. It mattered not what was the subject of investigation; the moment he touched upon it, it assumed an absorbing interest in the eyes of all of us. A *Sheva* or a *Quāmets*, if it affected ever so slightly the meaning of a word in the oracles of God, became at once a matter of the greatest importance.

"I do not think that there was one of us, who would not have chosen to fast for a day, rather than to lose one of his lectures. There was also a tone of perfect candor and a sincere love of truth in all his teachings, which wrought most powerfully in developing the intellect of his pupils. He was rigid in his requirements. He expected us all to do our duty, and was sometimes severe if he observed the appearance of negligence; but I do not know that he ever administered a reproof, which did not carry with it the judgment of the class. Although so many years have elapsed, I at this

moment recall, with delightful interest, the hours passed in his lecture-room, as among the most pleasant and profitable portions of my life.

"He had a genuine liberality of sentiment. When I entered Andover, but few Baptists had ever been connected with the Seminary. From the commencement of our acquaintance, he treated me with a degree of confidence, and, I may almost say, affection, that won my whole heart. From that moment I have never ceased to love and honor him, to delight in his reputation, and to look upon him with almost filial reverence. Nor am I alone in these sentiments. I believe that among those who cherish his memory with the most enthusiastic regard, at least an equal proportion will be found in the ranks of those who belong to sects different from his own. With some of his later views I am unable to coincide; but this difference of opinion does not, in any manner, diminish the debt of gratitude which I shall always owe to the instructor of my youth, and the undeviating friend of my mature years.

"A monument should be erected to his memory by his pupils. I hope that the subject will receive immediate attention. The father of sacred literature in this country deserves this tribute at our hands."

To such a letter it would be arrogant for the writer to attempt adding a word. It reveals the secret, in a great measure, of Prof. Stuart's influence over his age. It makes us admire the wisdom of Divine Providence, in raising up just such a man; so simple and hearty in his faith, so frank and winning in his manners, so decided and energetic in his efforts, so liberal and evangelical in his feelings and opinions, so learned and eloquent, possessed of such versatile powers and indefatigable industry—in a word, so great and good a teacher, at a time when his influence was so desirable for the welfare of the church.

ART. VIII.—BAPTISM FOR THE DEAD.

BY REV. S. W. WHITNEY,
Pastor of the Baptist Church, Westport, N. Y.

Else what shall they do which are baptized for the dead; if the dead rise not at all? why are they then baptized for the dead?—1 COR. xv. 29.

ON reading this, one naturally asks, "What does the apostle mean by it?" That he intends it as an argument in favor of the doctrine of the resurrection, is plain enough. But what is the meaning of the words rendered, "baptized for the dead?" Says Dr. Bloomfield, in his note on the passage, "If we were to judge of the difficulty of the passage from the variety of interpretations, we should say that this is the most obscure and least understood passage in the New Testament." Of the interpretations that have been given, some are destitute of philo-

logical support; while others, if not wanting in this respect, involve very far-fetched and inadmissible allusions—savor too strongly of superstition—or are neither agreeable to the context nor pertinent to the apostle's argument. To us, all are more or less unsatisfactory.

The main thing, we conceive, necessary to a clear and correct understanding of these words, is, not philological learning and critical acumen in distinguishing nice shades of difference in meaning of the words of a dead language, so much as a knowledge of apostolic Christianity, and principles and practice, and looking at the passage in the light of that knowledge. Doing this, we shall find, as we think, but little, if any, difficulty in coming at the apostle's meaning.

Leaving, then, the 19th century, and going back 1800 years to the year of our Lord 56 or 57, the time when this epistle was written,—leaving behind us the clouds that overhung the church during the middle ages, and whose skirts still hover over us and around us,—and going up to the apostles' times, with the word of God in our hands, let us ask, what was then the true idea of a Christian?

Says the Saviour, “Whosoever will come after me,” i. e., be a Christian, “let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me. For whosoever will save his life shall lose it; but whosoever shall lose his life for my sake and the gospel's, the same shall save it.” Mark viii. 34, 35. Again: “He that loveth his life shall lose it; and he that hateth his life in this world, shall keep it unto life eternal.” John xii. 25. That is to say, he that is anxious to secure and enjoy the comforts of this life, and makes this the object of his daily aims and efforts, will lose eternal life; whereas, he that gives up or risks the comforts of this life, and life itself, for Christ's sake, shall find, beyond the grave, a life that far more than compensates for what he abandons his hold upon here. A Christian, then, according to the Saviour's idea of a Christian, is one who has let go his hold upon this life, and laid hold on eternal life in the exercise of an unwavering faith in Christ crucified and risen. He is one who is dead to this world, though living for another.

This, too, was the apostle Paul's idea of a Christian. Hence he says to the Romans, xii. 1, “I beseech you, brethren, by the mercies of God, that you present your bodies a living *sacrifice, holy*,” &c. Regard your bodies, as long as you live, as something sacrificed to God, laid on the altar of his will to be consumed, if such be his will, by the flames of worldly trials, sufferings, persecutions and losses encountered for his sake.

Look upon yourselves as *sacrificed* for this life, dead alike to its charms and its menaces, and unsolicitous respecting mere worldly objects and bodily comforts. In his farewell address to the elders of the church at Ephesus, he says, Acts xx. 23, 24, "The Holy Ghost witnesseth in every city that bonds and afflictions abide me; but none of these things move me, neither count I my life *dear unto myself*, so that I might finish my course with joy," &c. To the Philippians, iii. 7, 8, he says, "What things were gain to me, those I counted loss for Christ. Yea, doubtless, and I count all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord, for whom I have suffered the loss of all things being made conformable unto his death." The prospects of worldly prosperity, distinction, ease and comfort that were before me—I have abandoned them all for Christ. And to the Galatians, ii. 20, he says, "I am crucified and the life which I now live in the flesh I live by the faith of the Son of God," &c. This life of hardship, trial, persecution, and deadness to worldly comfort, I live in consequence of the faith I have in the Son of God, as one who loved me and gave himself for me. As a Christian, he ever speaks of himself as crucified—done with the pleasures and pursuits of the world. His hold on this life he abandoned the moment he laid hold by faith on Christ, and identified himself with Him, a *crucified* Saviour. Bodily, the apostle did not die, till he breathed his last; but virtually and to all real intents and purposes, he died years before, when he gave up the world and launched his all, for time as well as eternity, in faith, upon the crucified Jesus. A Christian, according to his idea, is not one who is clinging to the world, fearing to lose the comforts of life for Christ's sake, but one who has already given up this life for his Saviour's sake, and is as ready, if such be His will, to rest from his mortal labors to-day as fifty years hence. And this idea we see standing out in bold relief in that noble exhortation of his to the Colossians, iii. 2, 3, "Set your affections on things above, not on things on the earth; for ye are *dead*, and your life is hid with Christ in God."

This was a striking peculiarity of the early adherents of the crucified One; they themselves, were in a sense crucified and dead. They had given up this present life for Christ's sake, and by faith in him were living in expectation of another.

Now, this renunciation of the present life—this crucifixion to the world, is designed to be represented in the act of Christian baptism, as something done by every individual receiving the ordinance; his immersion in water expressing his giving

up of this life, and burial to all his former hopes, aims and unhallowed attachments; while his emerging again is designed to symbolize his rising to a new life, a life of love and faithfulness to God. The Christian, thus, in the very outset of his Christian life, in professing his adherence to Christ, professes to be like his Master, crucified, dead and buried to the world—one who has given up this life and laid hold on another.

Hence we find the apostle speaking of Christians as "*buried* with Christ by baptism," or "*in baptism*," Rom. vi. 4; Col. ii. 12; not with a view to teach the mode of baptism—this was all plain enough—but to remind those to whom he wrote of *what was expressed at their baptism*,—viz., their renunciation of the world, and giving up of this life for that which is in Christ, in token of their faith in whom they *symbolically* underwent, in their baptism, the burial and resurrection He passed through *bodily*. The apostle speaks also, Rom. vi. 4, of "*a baptism for death*." "*Baptism into death*" is the common reading; but the true rendering of *is*, here, is evidently "*for*," or "*in token of*"; just as in Mark i. 4, Acts ii. 38, and Rom. iii. 25, it is rendered "*for* the remission of sins." So here, a baptism *for* death. "*Know ye not*," says the apostle, "*that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ were baptized into his death?* Therefore we are buried with him by a baptism for death"—a baptism expressive of our renunciation of sin and giving up of this life. As if he had said, *Know ye not that so many of us as have professed faith and union to Christ have professed to be united to Christ *crucified and dead*?* Therefore we are professedly buried with him, by our profession of union to Him, a *crucified, dead, and buried Saviour*.

Now, in exercising faith in Christ, the Christian does two things. (1.) He dies *to sin*; no longer delights in it; but abjures it as an abhorred thing. He is dead to it. (2.) He dies to his natural and inordinate attachment to the present life; he gives up his worldly hopes and comforts, ready for Christ's sake to endure all bodily sufferings and temporal calamities, virtually dying when he comes in faith to Christ, and looks to him for the life which he has to give,—according to 1 John v. 11, 12. He thus stands before the world as one dead in two senses: dead to sin and sinful pursuits and pleasures; and dead to attachments for this life and to fears of death—an existence here being no longer "*dear unto himself*"; for, for him to die is gain, while to live is Christ. Both these facts were designed to be symbolized by Christian baptism—as indeed everything is, that is implied in faith in Christ. The former of these—viz., death *to sin*—the apostle refers to in Rom. vi.,

where he is treating upon holy living. In the passage before us, however, he adverts wholly to the latter. The leading subject of this fifteenth chapter of first Corinthians, it will be borne in mind, is not *spiritual* death and resurrection, but natural death and the resurrection of the bodily dead. And in the verse under examination, the apostle's object is evidently to advance an argument in support of the doctrine of a future resurrection. Now, if we keep in mind the primitive and true idea of a Christian as one who is a living *sacrifice*—one who has given up his hold on this life, and stands ready for Christ's sake to undergo, at any moment, all things, even death itself; and if we keep in mind, too, that one object of Christian baptism is to express this idea, it seems to me we shall see clearly the apostle's meaning and the force of his argument, when he says, “What shall they do who are baptized *for dead*, if indeed the dead rise not? and why are they baptized for dead?” He asks two different questions; and not the same question twice, as is generally supposed, and as our common version leads one to suppose. 1. What shall they who are baptized for dead,—*i.e.*, Christians, effect?—what will they make or gain, if indeed the dead rise not? And, 2., if they have no faith in a future resurrection, why are they baptized for dead?—why are they set apart as belonging to those who have renounced their hold on this life? If there be no resurrection, they not only gain nothing, but lose everything. They not only never rise to another life, but throw away, or at all events risk the loss, of all the comforts of the only life they ever do have. And what is more than this, as implied in the second question, if there is not to be a resurrection, they make fools of themselves, in believing there is to be, and in abandoning, in consequence, their hold upon this life.

This view, it is believed, will be found to answer all the demands of a correct exposition.

1. The meaning, thus presented, lies in the original words themselves. It calls for no forced construction to bring it out. It does not require us to make an unwarrantable supposition, as is made by those who suppose the apostle wrote the plural for the singular, and that by $\tauῶν νεκρῶν$, (the dead,) he meant the crucified Saviour. It requires no supplying of a supposed ellipsis, as the generally adopted interpretation, that of Chrysostom, requires, which makes the words read “baptized for the sake of”—*i.e.*, in hope of the resurrection of the dead. It is true, in rendering the words as we do—“baptized for dead,” instead of “for the dead”—we drop the definite article which appears in the original. The words might, however, if necessary, be ren-

dered "baptized on the side of the dead"—*i. e.*, set over by their baptism on the side of those who have given up this life, as the preposition is rendered in Mark ix. 40, "He that is not against us, is on our part"—on our side. But this is unnecessary. The fact that the word *νεκρῶν* is preceded by the definite article, so far from militating against the rendering "baptized for dead," and against the meaning thus presented, seems rather to call for it; the dead, here referred to, being not the dead indefinitely, but a particular class of mankind—viz., Christians. In the first thirty-four verses of this chapter, the apostle is speaking of the fact of the Saviour's resurrection, and establishing the doctrine of the resurrection of *men in general*. From the 35th to the 50th verse, he treats of the resurrection of the *holy* dead only—"Such as are heavenly," "shall bear the image of the heavenly," and "inherit the kingdom of God." In the remainder of the chapter, he speaks of the immediate change from mortal to immortal which the saints will undergo who are alive on earth at Christ's second coming. Now, so long as he treats of the resurrection of *the dead indefinitely*, he uses the word *νεκροί* *without* the article. This he does, in the first thirty-four verses of the chapter, no less than nine times; but not once afterwards. But the moment he speaks of the dead in a restricted sense, that moment the definite article appears in view, and shows, like straws upon a stream, which way the current of his thoughts is tending. In the very passage before us, he makes this distinction. In this verse, the word *νεκροί* occurs three times; once *without* the article—in the sentence "if the dead rise not at all," in which the apostle speaks of the dead indefinitely; and twice *with* it—in the twice-used phrase, "baptized for dead," in which the dead denote the baptized. So in the 35th, 42d and 52d verses, where he is speaking of the resurrection, not of men in general, but of Christians. In each case here, he makes use of the definite article, which he does not do in a single instance in the preceding part of the chapter, where he is speaking of the resurrection of men indefinitely.

2. This interpretation depends upon no *fancied* circumstance, or far-fetched allusion, as that of Doddridge, for example, adopted by Scott; according to which, the apostle alludes to the supposed case of persons who, after the martyrdom of Christians, presented themselves for baptism, to supply the place of the martyrs,—a conceit which is unsustained by anything in apostolic history.

3. It offers a meaning, too, which no way savors of superstition, but is in perfect harmony with apostolic Christianity. It speaks of baptism in just that language which, to a primitive

Christian, would be perfectly plain and intelligible. The design of this ordinance was then well known. Hence, as the subject on which the apostle was treating required, he alluded to this particular view of the ordinance here, as in Rom. vi. he referred to another; and neither the Corinthians in the one case, nor the Romans in the other, could fail to apprehend his meaning.

4. And finally: this interpretation is in perfect harmony with the context, and renders the language of the apostle a pertinent argument in support of the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead. All are agreed, and there can be no dispute about it, that the passage from the 20th to the 28th verse is a digression from the apostle's main argument, and that he returns to it again in the 29th verse—the verse we are examining. In the 19th verse he had argued, that if there was no resurrection, in the hope and expectation of which Christians denied themselves the comforts and pleasures of this life, and willingly endured, for Christ's sake, privation, contempt, persecution, and death itself, then, of all men, their lot is the most miserable and pitiable. Now, had he not digressed, his language would have run somewhat thus: If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable; for what shall we who are baptized for dead effect, if indeed the dead rise not? And why are we baptized for dead? and why stand we in jeopardy every hour? Daily do I die, as the fact of my being enabled in Christ to glory on your account testifies. If, speaking after the manner of men, I have fought with *beasts* at Ephesus, and am obliged, for the sake of the gospel, to contend with lions and tigers in human shape, what advantageth it me, if the dead rise not? If this is all our faith in Christ is worth, to deprive us of the comforts of this life and give us no hereafter, let us not be fools any longer; let us enjoy the present, and make the most of it; let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die. But be not deceived. Attending to unsound doctrines undermines good principles and corrupts the morals.

Happy would it be for the Church of Christ in our day, if all who have been baptized into Christ, realized that they have been baptized *for dead*, and lived as those who are indeed dead; whose life is not in themselves, but hid with Christ in God!

ART. IX.—NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

A Commentary on the Original Text of the Acts of the Apostles. By H. B. HACKETT, Professor of Biblical Literature in Newton Theological Institution. Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. 8vo.

WE have waited patiently for this commentary, knowing that a good book is not made in a day. And certainly we do not regret that the author has lingered so long upon one field. "Every nook and corner" of it has thus become familiar to him. Each particular portion has been scrutinized from more points of observation, and with more deliberate attention, than would otherwise have been possible. The recorded discoveries of explorers, who preceded him in the same territory, have been carefully used as guides to what is worthy of notice. Each of these guides, to continue the illustration, had in his time favorite walks and retreats, objects of special interest and investigation, in this holy land; and whoever has a proper love for the work, will find his reward in consulting their notes, while traversing this region, in every direction, to behold its sacred places; notes which will often prove suggestive when inaccurate, and which no less frequently will be verified with joy as correct. To speak without a figure, the work of Prof. Hackett is learned and thorough; gold, not dross. We welcome it as an indication that interpreters feel more deeply, than ever before, the propriety of earnest, prolonged, critical study, upon every part of the sacred volume which they attempt to explain. The style of the composition indicates the spirit of an inquirer, reverently and patiently searching for the truth. It bears on every page the evidences of protracted and skillful investigation. A large part of it has been re-written, to the third or fourth time, we believe; and during the five years since it was commenced, the writer has conducted five successive classes through a course of study upon the Acts. The results given in the Commentary are the fruit of examinations, which none but a scholar, acquainted with the wide range of Biblical literature and criticism, could make. It may be added, as a matter of some consequence, that the English in which these results are offered to us is pure and classic. The words are chosen for the thought, and the thought is clear, definite, abundant. The author has endeavored to unite perspicuity and brevity, and thus to make the work of the utmost value to such as use it. This high aim, we think, has been realized. The book is free from ambiguous comments. After properly studying the Greek text of the passage, no one will hesitate about the meaning of any remark upon it made in the Notes of Prof. Hackett. Of course there are occasional sentences of doubtful import in the original work of Luke; and in such cases, all that could be done by an honest interpreter has been done by our author; different allowable or possible views have been noticed, and generally a preference for some one of these intimated. With this clearness of statement, there is associated condensation of thought. The book contains a great amount of information. The results of long and careful research are here often put down in a single clause. Every sentence adds more than words to what has gone before. Our author seems to have appropriated, from the first, the resolution of an eminent Latin poet:

"*Incipiam lima mordacius uti,
Et sub judicium singula verba vocem.*"

Directness and compactness of thought, the result of such "limae labor

et mora," are characteristics of the Commentary. We are taken in a straight line through the heart of difficulties, instead of being led over or around them by a fatiguing prolixity of discussion. The mental toil of authorship is indefinitely augmented by this process; a book thus written is a *work*; no other word is so significant of its origin. The labor of constructing a railway, which goes direct from point to point, cutting through hills of solid rock, is no doubt vastly greater than that of preparing an ordinary road, climbing slowly over the rugged heights, or leading by a wide circuit to their opposite sides: still, in the pursuit after truth, we plead for the railway. In study, we are the best pleased with that author who conducts us by the shortest path to the clear fountain of knowledge; who offers us the largest and most refreshing draughts in the quickest succession. When with souls athirst we come to the word of God for the pure water of life, the sooner we are enabled to drink of the deep fountain, with an enlightened assurance of its being unpolluted by man's wisdom, the better is it for us. After partaking of the vital flood, we may turn to pluck a flower or two from the shady margin.

The Commentary of Prof. Hackett does not, however, contain everything which might profitably be written upon The Acts of the Apostles. It is not a practical commentary. It does not profess to apply the truths taught in The Acts to the various relations of men at the present time. Another volume, equal at least in size to the one now published, would be required for this. How many legitimate uses may be made of the same truth! How grave and diversified are the applications of a single Christian principle! Some of these are so obvious as to be involved in the simplest and severest interpretation of a sentence; some of them are remote, and likely to be suggested only by an event of real life. The best practical commentary can, therefore, anticipate but in part the appropriate work of ministers and private Christians, namely: that of evolving from the Divine Word rules of conduct for men, engaged in various employments, subjected to manifold and peculiar trials, and perplexed by ever-changing questions of financial, social or civil duty. Still less can be done by an expositor whose chief design is to show the proper meaning of the Sacred Record. For the most part, he will be unable to adjust the extent of his discussions to the ethical importance of a passage. To draw from a text the plan of a sermon, or commit it, in language of serious admonition, to the consciences of his readers, would be in many cases an easy and welcome task; but to do this, is not so much to establish the meaning of the passage, as rather to unfold, apply, and enforce that meaning, and hence must, to a great extent, be omitted. When the import of a sentence, however interesting, is obvious and unquestionable, he may feel it necessary to forbear all comment, that there may be ample space for the explanation of obscure and difficult statements or allusions. Nor can he always develop the theological bearings of Biblical language. Other things being equal, he may indicate his view of the comparative value of passages in forming the system of Christian doctrine, by the brevity or fullness of his comments. But it is not his particular duty to assign different truths their place in such a system. He has chosen to work in the mine, to search out and prepare for the hands of other laborers those precious stones, which may be united without the noise of "hammer or axe," and form a temple of perfect symmetry and beauty. His work is primary, fundamental, indispensable. He is to lay bare the real diamond, and separate it from the earthy envelop. Having furnished himself with the necessary implements, and disciplined his eye to this occupation, it is perhaps best for him to labor in the mine, to detect and

verify the gems of truth, to bring them forth in just order, and with just the form they have after the dust of a foreign language is removed, to conduct his examinations without any special regard to the place each stone is to fill in the great temple, but with the sole anxiety of finding what is genuine, precious, divine.

In the Commentary before us, we have the results of this kind of toil. The author has endeavored to ascertain the exact meaning of one portion of the inspired volume, and to present it, without addition or abridgment, to such as may use his work. We think that he has succeeded in this beyond any other interpreter, so far as our knowledge extends, who has written upon The Acts. To the preacher and student, this book must prove a treasure. The end which the author sought to reach, is the one which, if attained, makes his work of the greatest possible value to the sincere lover and teacher of truth. Prof. Hackett thus states his design in the Preface:

"No single commentary can be expected to answer all the purposes for which a commentary is needed. The writer has aimed at a predominant object; and that has been to determine, by the rules of a just philology, the meaning of the sacred writer, and not to develop the practical applications, or, to any great extent, the doctrinal implications of this meaning."

We repeat, that this is the primary work of an interpreter. Whoever performs it thoroughly may be exonerated from the labor of developing a theological system. The materials furnished by him can be easily united; indeed, if his task is properly executed, very little constructive talent will be requisite for this combination. The Bible really contains but one system of doctrines; and when the individual truths taught by it have been ascertained by a patient comprehensiveness of study, which despises no word, and overlooks no idiom of the original languages, which makes use of every human means to become master of the human medium of revelation, and, at the same time, is sanctified by a spirit of true reverence to God, and impartial love to what He teaches; then, and we fear not before, will it be found by the Christian world, that all the ethical and theological principles of Holy Writ are perfectly adjusted to each other, and without violence can be formed into one, and only one, definite system. We therefore welcome, with great satisfaction, every book which makes a positive addition to our knowledge of the meaning of the Sacred Record. And to every student of The Acts, to every one who is anxious to assure himself of what is directly taught in this portion of Divine Truth, who will deem no remark dry or trivial, or irrelevant, which contributes to an exact knowledge of that teaching, the Commentary now published will be also welcome. To all, moreover, who wish to compare the Greek of the New Testament with classical Greek, and to learn how far it was modified in the case of Luke, by Hebrew modes of thought and expression; or who desire to place the statements of a Biblical writer by the side of accounts relating to the same period, countries and events, preserved in the works of profane historians; or who would feel an interest in verifying the accuracy of Luke when speaking of persons, places, officers, laws and customs, in Judea, Asia Minor and Rome; or who would like to possess the views of the most eminent and latest commentators upon difficult passages in The Acts; to all these the work of Prof. Hackett must prove very acceptable and valuable. Without claiming for it anything like perfection, we think both the plan and the execution of it excellent, and have no doubt of its proving a treasure to such as properly consult its pages. The following passage in § 3, of the Introduction, is so just, and, at the same time, so indicative of results to be found in the Commentary, that we cannot forbear quoting it:

"We have a decisive test of the trust-worthiness of Luke, in the consistency of his statements and allusions with the information which contemporary writers have given us, respecting the age in which he lived and wrote. The history which we read in *The Acts* connects itself, at numerous points, with the social customs of different nations; with the fluctuating civil affairs of the Jews, Greeks, and Romans; and with geographical or political divisions and arrangements, which are constantly undergoing some change or modification. Through all these circumstances, which underlie Luke's narrative, from commencement to end, he pursues his way without a single instance of contradiction or collision. Examples of the most unstudied harmony with the complicated relations of the times, present themselves at every step. No writer, who was conscious of fabricating history, would have hazarded such a number of minute allusions, since they increase so immensely the risk of detection; and still less, if he had ventured upon it, could he have introduced them so skilfully as to baffle every attempt to discover a well-founded instance of ignorance or oversight. It adds to the force of the argument to remark, that in the pages of Luke every such allusion falls from him entirely without effort or parade. It never strikes the reader as far-fetched or contrived. Every incident, every observation, flows naturally out of the progress of the narrative. It is no exaggeration to say, that the well-informed reader, who will study carefully the book of *The Acts*, and compare the incidental notices, to be found on almost every page, with the geography and the political history of the times, and with the customs of the different countries in which the scene of the transactions is laid, will receive an impression of the writer's fidelity and accuracy, equal to that of the most forcible treatises on the truth of Christianity."

We deem it worthy of notice, that our author has made continual use of the ablest German works upon *The Acts*. De Wette, Meyer, Olshausen, and others, whose attainments and labors in Biblical interpretation, give great weight to their opinions in all matters pertaining to philology and archaeology, have been consulted habitually by the writer, and their views often appear in the work. It is gratifying to see the fruit of the endless toil of German scholarship, thus brought into the service of Christianity in our land, by one who can sift the wheat from the chaff, who can discern the point where the results of a just and impartial exegesis give place to the reasoning of an unsanctified spirit, who is the judge and not the servant of the best authorities upon language, and, while he does not despise the aid of all possible learning, feels his reverence for the word of God constantly increasing, and takes delight in vindicating it against the assaults of unbelief and perverted knowledge.

If any imagine we have spoken too highly of the Commentary of Prof. Hackett, it is our only request, that they examine the work itself before coming to a final decision. There are, in fact, some passages in *The Acts* susceptible of an explanation different from the one preferred by Prof. Hackett; and in a few cases we might have been led to adopt such an explanation. But they are so few, and of so little importance to a correct understanding of *The Acts* as a whole, that it is not necessary to produce them here. We have been greatly benefited by a first use of the book, and are convinced of its uncommon excellence, and have, therefore, ventured to direct to it the attention of such as read this Review, in the hope that many of them will be disposed to secure its aid in studying the Sacred Word. It is a book for the study, not for the parlor, and will be interesting and profitable, if used in the former place rather than in the latter.

Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Dr. Chalmers, in Four Volumes, by his Son-in-law, REV. WM. HANNA, LL.D. Vol. III. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1851.

In noticing volume first, of this series, more than a year since, we took occasion to speak of a feeling of natural repugnance to having so large an amount of public attention engrossed by the memoir of a single individual. This has been renewed and increased by the appearance of this volume—

which, according to all previous announcements, was to have been the last; but, which we are now informed, must be followed by a fourth, making in all more than 2,000 large and closely-filled pages. And yet such is the charm of the subject, that our interest in the perusal has been kept unflagging to the end. This volume covers the interesting period from 1823 to 1835, twelve years of Dr. C.'s most important labors. He was in the meridian of his maturity and fame, from 43 to 55 years of age; he filled, successively, the chairs of Moral Philosophy, at Aberdeen, and of Theology, in Edinburgh University, and was the great ecclesiastical *Coryphaeus* of the North.

In 1833, he was drawn to London, and abundantly feted by bishops and archbishops, by prime ministers, and even by royalty itself; for the sake of inducing him to preach—as he did—in behalf of ecclesiastical establishments, or in defence of the union of church and state. In a letter to one of his family, he thus speaks of the event:

"The sermon of this day awakened no middle sentiment, but high approval among the *Episcopalians*, and deep dissatisfaction among the *sectarians*, (*Dissenters*), one of whom said to the collector that he should rather be paid for hearing such a sermon, than asked to pay anything. Lady B. tells me, that it has been much talked of; and I have been greatly urged by the Bishop of London to publish it. I think I had better not."

We do not wonder he declined; for, at times, at least, the good Doctor seems to have had better views. Take, as an illustration, the following extract from one of his speeches, in the appendix of this very volume:

"For about three centuries there was a Christian Church, but it was a church without a state. Each took its own several way. The state persecuted the church or forbore, at pleasure; and the church stood to the state in the relation of duty only, not at all of power. It preached submission to rulers, it prayed for them, and in all but the things of conscience was obedient to them. It never once dreamed of religion as being a qualification for any other crown than a crown in heaven; for any other office than an office of labor and faithfulness in that church, whose business it is to prepare a people for heaven's exercises and heaven's joys. Under these principles it grew, in the midst of conflict and persecution, and was only cradled into maturity and strength by the adverse elements of an adverse world. But this change in its outward state brought no change on the principles of the gospel. It may have corrupted the practice of Christians, but it could not alter, by one iota, the nature of Christianity, whose lessons are entirely and indestructibly the same—as in its days of suffering, so in its days of prosperity and triumph."

In the summer of 1833, Dr. Chalmers made a very extensive tour through England, visiting all the cathedrals—for whose antique magnificence he seems to have indulged a passion—and also coming in contact with the intellectual magnates. Mr. Gurney has preserved the following record of his testimony in regard to the latter:

"On the following morning we conversed on the subject of the great minds with which he had been brought into contact. I asked him who was the most talented person with whom he had associated, especially in powers of conversation. He said, Robert Hall was the greatest proficient he had ever known as a converser, and spoke in high terms of his talents and of his preaching. But, said he, I think Foster is of a higher order of intellect; he fetches his thoughts from a deeper spring; he is no great talker, and he writes very slowly; but he moves along in a region far above the common intellectual level. There are passages in his *Essays of Popular Ignorance*. I am sorry to say, however, he is disposed to radicalism, and would scarcely object to substitute for the machinery of Oxford and Cambridge—those endowed seats of religion and learning—factories worked by steam!"

In regard to the relative value of minute Scripture Criticism and Theology, Dr. C. may be deemed very antiquated; but there is force in the

following suggestions, contained in a letter to Dr. Welch, one of his colleagues, then traveling in Germany:

"In regard to the connection between an erudite Scripture criticism and a sound theology, I feel very sure that there does obtain a subtle delusion, which one cannot well advert to, without seeming to depreciate the former. This is not the place for dilating or entering deeply into the subject. But I would ask whether the theology of Jonathan Edwards is not marked by great talent and profoundness, and correctness withal; and yet he does not seem to have been indebted for it to knowledge or skill in exegesis. I verily believe that many a plowman in Scotland is a jester, and I will add, a deeper theologian, than many a biblist in Germany. We have examples, too, in England, of a very meagre theology, combined with great taste and talent, for the investigations of Scripture criticism. The truth is, that those textual difficulties, the treatment of which requires the most arduous and elaborate criticism for their solution, generally relate to such matters as do not enter into the staple or substance of systematic theology at all; insomuch, that I do not acquiesce in the maxim without great and important modifications being laid upon it, that '*Bonus textuarius est bonus theologus.*' The respective functions, in fact, of the critic and theologian, are not generally understood. There is one thing I should like if you could do: make a list of the actual achievements in Scripture criticism, of those who are most eminent in Germany at present. I mean of the changes or improvements which have been soundly and decisively established by them; and then let us try to compute the doctrinal amount of all that has been done by them."

Eclogae ex Q. Horatii Flacci Poematisbus. Philadelphia: Blanchard & Lea. 1852. 18mo. Pp. 311.

This little work is the tenth volume of the Classical Series of Drs. Schmitz and Zumpt, published in Edinburgh by the Messrs. Chambers, and reprinted in this country by Blanchard & Lea. The place in the editorial department of this series, which was vacated by the decease of Dr. Zumpt, has been filled by that lamented scholar's son, Prof. A. W. Zumpt; and by him most of the commentary on the present volume has been prepared. The volumes of this series have the advantages of convenient size, of cheapness, and general neatness of execution. The text is generally well edited; and each volume is prefaced by a biographical sketch, and furnished with occasional illustrations. On the other hand, this series, in its American form, suffers from some disadvantages to which reprints of foreign educational works are always more or less liable. From the want of a responsible and independent American editor, the press is not accurately corrected; and what is far more important, the commentary is not revised, and made suitable, by additions, omissions, or other changes, to the wants of American institutions. A book that is skilfully prepared for a German Gymnasium, or for a school in Scotland, may need important modifications in order to be suited to the use of American schools and colleges. Moreover, some of the books of this series, and the present one among the rest, though emanating from distinguished scholars, are certainly susceptible of great improvement. This edition of Horace seems to us to illustrate both the advantages and the disadvantages which we have mentioned. It is so cheap as to be accessible to all students, and has the merits of convenient size and neatness of appearance. The text chiefly followed is an approved one, that of Orelli's second edition. The Introduction, on the life and works of the poet, is useful and interesting; but it has no particular value from the views it embodies, and it is feebly and awkwardly composed, and is quite deficient as a literary production. The number of typographical errors is considerable, though smaller than in some of the earlier volumes of the series. The commentary, though free from the fault of too great copiousness, is faulty in other respects. We have noticed some notes, which are quite inadequate; e. g. on p. 28, l. 39: "*Et vultus Mauri peditis,*

etc. The look of the Mauritanian *soldier* is fierce at all times ; but particularly when he is glancing at an enemy whom he has wounded or slain." The word *soldier* (the italics are ours) is no translation for *peditis*, and the whole note fails to hit the poet's meaning. *Peditis* is here = *Mauri quo dejecti*—the *dismounted* or *unhorsed Mauritanian*—else Horace would not have used *peditis*, as the Mauritanians are famous only in the cavalry service. But if this explanation was not satisfactory to the editor, he might have adopted Bentley's conjecture, *Marsi*. So the note on p. 131, upon *fallit sorte beator*, does not, by its translation, instruct the student on the difficult and very unusual construction which the poet employs. The student may take the translation given him, and never know the grounds on which it rests. The translation itself is also awkward in form. But we give the note: "My little property escapes the notice of him who glitters with the government of fertile Africa, as being, according to fate's decree, (or 'in regard to lot,') happier ;" "that is, he does not perceive it to be happier." The translation of *male dispari*, on p. 54, is very infelicitous: "On thee, who art lamentably unable to cope with him !" Why not simply, *an ill match for him* ; or, *no match for him* ? Other translations are too remote from the text: e. g. on p. 158, *conjugibus loquenda*—where is given the note, "hence 'bloody.'" Also p. 294, *prodigaliter* is given, "so that the readers may think him a prodigy of genius."

A considerable part of the writings of Horace is omitted in this edition, and, so far as we can see, for no sufficient reasons. The editor remarks in his preface, that those poems only are "excluded which cannot be made use of for educational purposes." But there is no reason for omitting the 3d and the 4th Satires of the 1st Book; and the omission of the 9th and of the 5th (save only four lines, which any edition would omit) is a capital fault in the book. In like manner other poems, both Satires and Epistles, are omitted, which are not only objectionable, but are directly available to "educational purposes," so that the volumes contain only one-half of the Satires of Horace, and but fifteen of his twenty Epistles.

Five Years in an English University. By CHARLES ASTOR BRISTED, late Foundation Scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge. New-York: G. P. Putnam. 1852. 2 vols. 12mo.

This book, notwithstanding its writer's egotism, seems to us a decidedly clever and valuable one, and worthy the perusal, and the candid and practical attention, of the scholars of this country. The author certainly displays, what Sir James Stephen describes as a characteristic of the ancient Gauls, "a strong development of the sense of individuality,"—he takes good care to keep his readers aware that it is Mr. Charles Astor Bristed to whom they are listening ; and he seems himself all the while most delightfully conscious that, being a real English graduate, and a "late Foundation Scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge," he is not only particularly qualified to instruct his countrymen in all matters pertaining to English University education, but is also pretty nearly the only thorough-going classical man in these remoter parts of the world ; and that, from the exclusive felicity of his position, he is specially ordained to survey and improve, and set in order, the literary institutions of this country. But, in spite of these magnificent airs of Mr. Bristed, we have read his two volumes with interest and profit, and feel greatly obliged to him for the full and direct information he has given us of the courses and methods of study, and of the aims and the results of education, in the English Universities ; for his pictures of student-life in England, which are very lively and agreeable, though not

always very elevated ; and especially for his intelligent and earnest defence of classical studies, accompanied, though it is, by very free, and sometimes rather flippant strictures, on American Colleges and instructors. But it is easy to pass over the freedom, and even flippancy, of suggestions and strictures, if they are to any considerable extent just and true, and if they can be turned to good account ; and such, we believe, to be the character and the tendency of some of those which occur in this work of Mr. Bristed. Doubtless, too, it would have been in better taste if, while rejoicing in his "foundation scholarship," and sundry other Cambridge titles, he had spoken a little more reverently of Yale College, his earlier Alma Mater, and in a little less supercilious tone of American Colleges generally in comparison with the English Universities ; but as the virtues of reverence and modesty seem not to have been given him in large measure, we are disposed to give him credit, at least, for honest and excellent intentions, and to pardon much to the strong conviction he cherishes, that in certain branches of a liberal education, the English system is far superior to the American : and that, therefore, the former system sends forth into life better scholars and more thoroughly-educated men. We have some doubts whether Mr. Bristed has taken pains to inform himself of the present character and condition of American Colleges ; of the methods pursued in the study of the classics, and of what is really accomplished, and of the difficulties which stand in the way of their being more perfectly taught. It is just possible that he might find, on further inquiry, that the professors in our colleges are not entire strangers to many views, which he appears to consider somewhat new ; and that they are already familiar with some of the plans which he proposes. For instance : the examinations by written papers, which he describes and recommends, were sometime since recommended by President Wayland to the corporation of Brown University, and established by that body, as a part of the laws of the University ; and they are already in practical operation, in very nearly the same details which Mr. Bristed enumerates, both as semi-annual examinations on all the studies of the preceding semester, and as final examinations for degrees : for the Bachelor's degree, in three of the studies which the candidate has pursued ; and for the Master's, "in the Ancient Languages, in Natural Philosophy, and in three other studies of the course, to be selected by the Faculty." The examination for the Master's degree, also includes one element which Mr. Bristed thinks wholly unknown in this country, namely, one book in Latin and one in Greek, which the candidate has never read in the regular course of instruction. But leaving, for a future occasion, a particular review of the various important matters on which Mr. Bristed has written, we have only to add, at present, that we gladly give in our adhesion to the justness of his observations on "The Advantages of Classical Studies, particularly in reference to the Youth of our Country ;" and to the value and the practicability of some of his suggestions, on the methods by which they may be pursued more thoroughly and successfully.

Lectures on the History of France. By the Right Hon. SIR JAMES STEPHEN, K. C. B., LL. D., Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge. New-York: Harper & Brothers, 82 Cliff-street. 1852. 8vo. Pp. 710.

This volume of Lectures deserves and needs far more than a notice, for any proper consideration of its merits. The author, with whose eloquent papers in the Edinburgh Review all our readers are familiar, is the suc-

cessor of William Smythe, Esq., in the chair of Professor of Modern History, in the University of Cambridge. On his appointment to the Professorship, he determined to devote his first attention to the History of France; and though he would gladly, from his own impulses and from the advice of literary friends, have devoted several years to preliminary research and study, yet, finding that recent academic arrangements at Cambridge admitted of no such delay, he entered at once upon the public duties of his office. In pursuing this course, (which the author describes in detail in his Preface,) he may have made some sacrifice of literary distinction, but we have no doubt that he best secured thereby the ends of his office, and best promoted the interests of his pupils. Lectures prepared for immediate delivery by one well versed in historical inquiries, and familiar with literary labor, are apt to gain far more by directness and point, by freshness of interest and effective power, than they can lose from the want of finish, or the absence of original views, or even the utmost accuracy of statement in matters of fact. The early publication of his Lectures Sir James ascribes to an exigency no less urgent than that which required their rapid composition. This was the necessity of furnishing his students with an introduction to French History, as there was no existing English book of that character, and a very large number of his auditors were unacquainted with the popular French works on the History of France, and a considerable portion of them did not know any modern language but their own. Besides, after one experiment, the lecturer renounced the hope of being able to repeat, year after year, the same discourses, and still more, had grave doubts as to the real value of oral teaching in the department of history.

These Lectures, thus prepared and published, and now reprinted in this volume, are twenty-four in number—twelve delivered in Easter term of 1850, and the remainder in Easter term of 1851. They comprise a narrative of the chief events, and a discussion of the principal subjects pertaining to the history of the French people during the entire period extending from the Roman dominion down to the Revolution of 1789. The author seems, in his preface, to consider himself a candidate for the honors of a lecturer and not of a historian; but we think that his work will entitle him to a high rank among the historical writers of the age. Exceptions may doubtless be taken to some of his explanations of leading phenomena in French history—and touching all the great movements of history, there is always wide room for difference of opinion; but none will fail to recognize in his pages the marks of laborious and faithful research, of originality in plan and method, of honest, independent thought, and of sound and healthful sentiment. The work will greatly enhance the author's literary fame; it abounds in passages which are marked by force, beauty, and eloquence of expression, and which ever remind one of those admirable papers in the Edinburgh Review on the Port Royalists, and Ignatius Loyola. No one can begin the volume without reading it with interest to the end, and all those parts especially which embody the story of great events, and the lives of distinguished men, are executed in the highest style of narrative, and at once delight and instruct the reader.

A Wonder-Book for Girls and Boys. By NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE. With Engravings by BAKER, from Designs by BILLINGS. Boston: Ticknor, Reed & Fields. 1852. 18mo. Pp. 256.

In condescending to the entertainment of girls and boys, Mr. Hawthorne has here struck into veins in the regions of fancy, which, old as they are, and long since abandoned, have yet proved, under the skilful labor of a

master-workman, as rich and exhaustless as ever. Going back to the realms of classic mythology, he has touched, as with a magic wand, and summoned to new life, and to the very midst of the now living world, some of those wondrous forms that were familiar to men's visions and hearts three thousand years ago. Six of these old classic myths he has reproduced with all the felicity of genius; while he has seized and kept those elements which fix their significance and identity, and stamp them immortal, he has clothed them in new robes of sentiment and manners, informed them with the life and tones of a better morality, and set them about with all the scenes and associations of the present day, so that they come home to us as living realities of our own age. That hoary and distant past of classic times seems near indeed and all young again, when those strange, immortal fables, which its genius first created for its instruction and delight, are now called back and made familiar to us, and even our own, by a gifted mind of the present. What a near and true fellowship there must be in all the kindred of genius! and how are all its creations, as Mr. Hawthorne says of the classic legends, "marvelously independent of all temporary modes and circumstances!" The myths which Mr. Hawthorne has here so happily handled, are The Gorgon's Head, Midas' Golden Touch, Pandora's Box, The Golden Apples, The Miraculous Pitcher, and The Chimæra. They are put together by a thread of modern story, which binds them all into a charming unity and integrity. Eustace Bright, a student of William's College, comes home in the vacations to a merry group of children, who rejoice in very fairy names, such as Primrose, Cowslip, and the like, and gets the little elves about him, sometimes in-doors and sometimes out—now in mid-winter, now in spring, and now in autumn, and tells them wonderful stories of the olden times. It seems that the student, who is very properly pale and slender, and learned withal, though only eighteen years of age, has won a great fame, and fairly too, as a story-teller, and moreover is vastly fond of exercising his gifts; the children, too, are always right glad to listen to his stories, and find them, as little Cowslip declares, good to hear at night, because they can dream about them asleep, and good in the morning too, because they can dream about them awake. We think that some of the purely modern parts of the book are full as good as the stories themselves; and if our limits would allow, we should be glad to make some extracts to illustrate our opinion. We heartily commend this work not only to boys and girls, but to men and women, and to all scholars and learned people who love to have now and then something more genial than big dictionaries of Mythology and Antiquities, and the musty old volumes they come from; and we are assured that they will all admire and enjoy these wonderful stories with a zest no less keen and genuine than that experienced by the merry children that listened to Eustace Bright.

A Popular Account of Discoveries at Nineveh. By AUSTEN HENRY LAYARD, Esq., D. C. L. With numerous woodcuts. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1852. 12mo. Pp. 360.

This is an abridgment by Dr. Layard, himself, of his great work on "Nineveh and its Remains." The author was induced to write it by the fact that several inaccurate accounts of his researches had been written and published. The present volume contains the principal Biblical and historical illustrations embodied in the narrative, which is rendered at once complete and more attractive to general readers. The external decorations of the book are in good taste, and well illustrate its contents.

Women of Christianity, Exemplary for Acts of Piety and Charity. By JULIA KAVANAGH, author of "Nathalie," etc. New-York: D. Appleton & Company. 1852. 12mo. Pp. 384.

In this volume Miss Kavanagh has aimed to record the lives of those women who have best illustrated the self-denying, self-sacrificing spirit which the gospel inculcates and inspires, and of which the cross of Christ is the ever-enduring symbol and example. The authoress seems to have performed her task in a spirit of Christian charity, and with a praiseworthy zeal and faithfulness: she writes with clearness, ease, and earnestness, and apparently from a full mind and heart, and with a lively sensibility to real goodness whenever and wherever exhibited. The subject is perhaps too large for the limits assigned to it, and the names and characters too numerous, belonging, as they do, to the entire period of eighteen centuries, extending from the times of the first martyrs down to the present day. The difficulties incident to the management of so large a plan in such small compass have been, however, on the whole, surmounted with a commendable success. But it has occurred to us that, in this gallery of female portraits, some place was due to the women who have been foremost in the great work of modern Christian missions, who have certainly furnished in their lives some of the noblest illustrations of the charity, and the active, self-sacrificing piety of Christianity.

A Buckeye Abroad; or Wanderings in Europe and the Orient. By SAMUEL S. COX. New-York: George P. Putnam. 1852. 12mo. Pp. 444.

The title of this volume, which strikes us as capitally hit, is a good index of its character. It is a book of impressions and reflections, gathered in a tour by no means new, which are striking and original, and conveyed in a manner that is natural and unpretending, but arrests and keeps the attention by the rapid flow of the narrative, and by a vigorous and racy style of expression. Mr. Cox has evidently observed with his own eyes, and thrown himself into the scenes that were about him with an ever fresh and active nature, which *does* no sight-seeing listlessly, nor from a mere sense of traveling obligation. The chapters of his book have all the ease and directness of letters written upon the spot, but the style of execution, and the finish of particular parts, give evidence of faithful revision. Altogether it is a most interesting book of travels, and stands out prominently from the mass of books of this class, in these days of traveling and of authorship. Mr. Cox, though a native and resident of Ohio, was educated in New-England; and we observe with interest his allusion to his Alma Mater in the last paragraph of his book—when "the Buckeye" was nearing home, and when, as the vessel was passing the coast, "the cry that Rhode Island is in sight" came to him "like a homesound," and reminded him of the "University in which so many months had been passed conning over scenes which the last summer had now realized."

The History of Palestine, from the Patriarchal Age to the Present Time, with Introductory Chapters on the Geography and Natural History of the Country; and on the Customs and Institutions of the Hebrews. By JOHN KITTO, D.D., Editor of "The Pictorial Bible," &c. With upwards of 200 Illustrations. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1852. 12mo. Pp. 426.

Messrs. Gould & Lincoln are doing a good service by the publication of Dr. Kitto's Biblical works. The present volume contains a well-digested

History of Palestine, in eight Books, and traces the changing fortunes of the Hebrew people, through the successive centuries in which they were an independent nation, and the subsequent periods down to the present time, during which they have been under foreign rule, and different forms of government. Prefixed to the History are five introductory chapters on the geography of the country, and the life and manners of the people, devoted respectively to historical and physical geography, agriculture and pasturage, habits of life, literature, science and art, and institutions. The History is not an abridgment of the author's Pictorial History of Palestine, "but has been written expressly," as he tells us in the preface, "for its present use." In preparing the chapters upon the manners and customs of the Jews, Dr. Kitto has drawn somewhat from the well-known work of Jahn on Biblical Archaeology; but his descriptions have been enriched and made more life-like by illustrations of oriental usages, gained from the author's former residence in the East. The work is valuable for all students of the Bible; for families, and especially for Sunday Schools and Bible Classes. We only miss in it a good map of Palestine, and a Plan of Jerusalem.

A Hand-Book of the English Language, for the Use of Students of the Universities, and the Higher Classes of Schools. By R. G. LATHAM, M. D., F. R. S., late Professor of the English Language and Literature, University College, London. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1852. 12mo. Pp. 398.

The grammatical works of Dr. Latham are legitimate and most valuable results of the fruitful researches, made in recent times, in the kindred sciences of Ethnology and Comparative Philology. The labors of German scholars, in these modern sciences, Dr. Latham has turned to vast account, in unfolding and illustrating the history and progress, and the whole structure of the English language. His investigations and discoveries entitle him to the first rank among living writers on English grammar, and to a place not inferior in honor and usefulness to that of any English grammarian of former times. The present volume is a compendious treatise, prepared from the third edition of the author's large work on "the English Language;" and renders accessible to students and general readers the substantial results of Dr. Latham's grammatical studies, presented in brief compass, and unaccompanied by those reasonings and details of illustration which are fitted only for those who are familiar with Comparative Philology. The work is divided into seven parts, devoted respectively to the General Ethnological Relations of the English Language, the History and Analysis of the English Language, Sounds, Letters, Pronunciation and Spelling, Etymology, Syntax, Prosody, and Dialects of the English Language. The book is, of course, not intended for a practical grammar, but it is a most valuable contribution to English grammar: and its acute and most useful observations, especially on different parts of Etymology and of Syntax, deserve the special attention of advanced pupils and of teachers, and will undoubtedly prepare the way for a higher criticism of our language in our colleges and schools.

Selections from the Metamorphoses and Heroides of Ovid. With Notes, Grammatical References, and Exercises in Scanning. Second Edition, Revised and Corrected. By E. A. ANDREWS, LL.D. Boston: Crocker & Brewster. 1851.

This is a new edition of a book first published in 1844. The text, which in the first edition was Burman's, is in the present chiefly that of Loers,

with the exception of changes in orthography and punctuation. The earlier notes have been revised, and new ones added; in preparing which, the editor has availed himself of the commentary of Dr. Loers. A considerable part of the notes consists of references to other school-books of Dr. Andrews, which are of course of no service to those who do not use those books. We must question the utility of the Scanning Exercises, except for such pupils as study by themselves, and have no teacher. A good teacher will hardly thank an editor for furnishing his pupils with several pages, in which lines are divided, and all the syllables proved, either by furnishing the rules in full, or references to the paragraphs in the grammar, which contain the rules. We have no doubt, however, of the general usefulness of this edition, and we are glad to call to it the attention of teachers. Good selections, like these, from the Poems of Ovid, form an excellent introduction to the study of Latin poetry—one far better suited to the taste and comprehension of young students than the great epic of Virgil. Ovid's language is graceful and noble, his versification harmonious, and the subjects, especially in those charming poems, the *Metamorphoses*, are admirably adapted to interest and instruct youthful minds.

Beecher's Works. Vol. I. Lectures on Political Atheism, and Kindred Subjects; Together with Six Lectures on Intemperance. Dedicated to the Working Men of the United States. Vol. II. Sermons on Various Occasions. By Lyman Beecher, D. D. Boston: J. P. Jewett & Co. 12mo. Pp. 425, 443.

In the characteristic preface to the first volume of these Works, Dr. Beecher indicates the scope and purpose of the publication which he has commenced. He has, in his long and greatly useful life, done with his might what his hand found to do, as indicated by the developments of Divine Providence. He has been a man for his times, the earnest revival preacher, the bold reformer, the champion of the faith once delivered to the saints, and the zealous advocate of missions and of education, as exigencies have required. He has lived for the church, his country, and mankind. And deep has been the impression which he has made upon his age. His Works bear the marks of such a life; they reflect the periods in which they were written, and are valuable, not only as illustrating the application of great truths to great questions, but as elucidating the history of the last fifty years. The Works will be comprised in five or six volumes; they "will appear chiefly in chronological order, indicating the exigencies which occasioned them, and their adaptation to the providential state of things at the time; and for the same purpose, short, explanatory notes may attend them." They will contain his occasional published works, the theological system which he has taught, and a large selection of his most successful sermons, preached amid revivals of religion; his lectures on education and to young men; and an account of his life and times.

The vigorous old age of Dr. Beecher is most fittingly spent in the preparation of these volumes. They will be read with avidity now, and be esteemed in after times as among the most marked intellectual fruits of the first half of this wonderful century.

The style in which the Works appear combines the advantages of convenient size and legible type, with reasonable price, rendering them accessible to readers of every class. We certainly desire for them the widest circulation.

The Works of Shakspeare: The Text carefully Restored, according to the First Editions; with Introductions, Notes, Original and Selected; and a Life of the Poet. By the Rev. H. N. HUDSON, A. M. In eleven volumes. Vols. I.—IV. Boston and Cambridge: James Munroe and Company, 1851—52.

There are so many things to recommend this edition of the Works of Shakspeare before all others, that we are at a loss how to enumerate them. Of convenient size for holding in the hand, whether sitting or reclining,—printed on paper of the most exquisite quality,—with type of admirable form for any eyes, old or young,—and with unequaled accuracy of the press,—it leaves absolutely nothing, as to any of these particulars, to be desired. The editor was well chosen. The interest awakened a few years ago by Mr. Hudson's lectures on Shakspeare, is remembered by all readers of the great poet. He walked amid the creations of Shakspeare's wonderful imagination as a man at home. Those lectures pointed him out as the suitable person to undertake an edition of Shakspeare's works, which should embody the excellences of the one before us. His design has been to reproduce the famous Chiswick edition, retaining its advantages and removing its defects, and, at the same time, making such additions in the way of annotation and illustration, as the progress of Shakspearean literature has rendered possible. Beginning with the text, Mr. Hudson has aimed to restore it to its purity. "So that," he says, "if a thorough revision of every line, every word, every letter, and every point, with a continual reference to the original copies, be a reasonable ground of confidence, then we can confidently assure the reader that he will here find the genuine text of Shakspeare." The notes, which are both original and selected, bear directly upon their legitimate purpose, to make clear and intelligible to the reader the meaning of words, phrases and allusions, which the lapse of time has obscured. They embody the best fruits of all previous annotations, and the rich results of the editor's own study. The introductions to the several plays are designed to indicate the sources from which the poet drew his materials, and to unfold their historical foundations, as well as to lead to a just comprehension of the plays themselves. "We would endeavor," says the editor, as to the critical purposes of these Introductions, "to conduct the reader by silent, natural processes, to such a state and habit of mind, that he may contemplate the plays, perhaps without knowing it, as works of art, and see all the parts and elements, of a given structure, intertwining and coalescing, and growing up together, in vital, organic harmony and reciprocity. For if, without being drawn into an ugly conceit or vanity of criticism, the reader can be led to see or feel how, in the poet's delineations, everything is fitted to every other thing; how each requires and infers the others, and all hang together in natural coherence and congruity; it is plain that both the pleasure and the profit of the reading must be greatly increased." A fine example of the scope and character of these introductions may be found in that which accompanies "Macbeth." We venture to say that few, if any, can read that Introduction without experiencing a deeper insight into the play itself, and a measure of gratification in reading it largely increased.

The Chiswick edition was comprised in ten volumes. To the present edition another volume will be added, to embrace the poems and a Life of the poet, with a general review of his works. The last volume will contain a portrait, finely engraved on steel, from a superior picture, which we have seen. If the works of Shakspeare had no value, except as connected with the drama as an institution of society, we should certainly wish the

world well rid of them. But they have other and higher value, and will long outlive the stage. Whether, as illustrating the scope and power of our language, or the multiform passions of the human heart, or the thoughts, manners and customs of our forefathers, they will never cease to be read and studied. It will be long, we believe, before another edition, in every respect so perfect as Mr. Hudson's, will be given to the public. The liberality of the publishers cannot fail to find, in the end, a suitable appreciation and recompense.

Grammar of English Grammars; with an Introduction, Historical and Critical, the whole methodically arranged and amply illustrated, with Forms of Correcting and Parsing, &c., &c. By GOOLD BROWN, Author of the Institutes of English Grammar, etc. New-York: Samuel S. & William Wood. 8vo. Pp. 1028.

This somewhat formidable volume contains, like its title-page, which, from its immense length, we could not give in full, a vast accumulation of matter. It is, doubtless, the result of indefatigable toil, and of many years of careful study. It abounds in critical notes, which evince great familiarity with the details of grammar, in all its departments.

The plan of the work is essentially the same as that of Mr. Brown's "Institutes of English Grammar." Indeed, it may be regarded as an expansion of that work, the enlargement consisting principally of an Introduction of eleven chapters, and extended Observations and Notes on the general principles. It looks at the subject from the same point of view, and hence is not in keeping with the spirit of more modern research. It deals rather with the forms of the language than with its spirit; it exhibits it in its dissected members, rather than as an organic whole. It depends, mainly, upon the old methods of parsing for its disciplinary exercises.

It is to be regretted that the author should not exhibit towards other grammarians a more amiable spirit; he seems, indeed, to regard other writers as interfering with his peculiar prerogatives. With criticism that is just and merited, he too often descends to that which is the language of other grammarians, as examples of false syntax. The book is too voluminous for common use; it is suited only to the critical and curious. It contains much valuable matter, and will aid in settling many disputed points. We recommend its perusal to all who are interested in grammatical research.

General History of the Christian Religion and Church. From the German of Dr. Augustus Neander. Translated from the last edition. By JOSEPH TORREY, Professor of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy in the University of Vermont. Vol. IV. Comprising the fifth volume of the Original. Boston: Crocker & Brewster. 1851. 8vo. Pp. 650.

We have, on a former occasion, testified to the indebtedness of English students of Ecclesiastical History to Dr. Torrey, for the great work which he has rendered into our language, now brought down, as far as published by Neander, at the time of his lamented death. Dr. Torrey was the fitting man for the task which he undertook. His critical learning, his comprehensive acquaintance with German literature, his patient industry, and great candor and impartiality, were qualifications Neander-like, and the results of his labors are satisfactory to the most competent scholars. The period embraced in this volume, extends from Gregory VII. to

Boniface VIII., from 1073 to 1294. At the time of his death, Neander was engaged on another volume, which was to bring the history down to the Reformation. In what state that work was left, the translator was not informed when the present volume went to press. It is certainly to be hoped that we may, if possible, have the benefit of Neander's latest historical studies.

We need not enlarge upon the particular merits of Neander's History, now so well known, and so justly regarded as indispensable. He seems to have been raised up and endowed for the special purpose of elucidating Christian History, by bringing to his work "minute and comprehensive learning, scrupulous fidelity, unexampled candor and simplicity of spirit, and unobtrusive but pervading piety." That he has left nothing undone is too much to be said. The study of history is endless, and contributions to the more perfect knowledge of the past, are the most which is to be expected. It is Neander's merit that his contributions were of unequalled value, and that his labors have quickened the inquiries of other minds, in every part of the Christian world.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Various books, which have come to hand late, we can at present only mention.

The New Testament; or the Book of the Holy Gospel of our Lord and our God, Jesus the Messiah. A Literal Translation from the Syriac Peshito Version. By JAMES MURDOCK, D. D. New-York: Stanford & Swords. 1851. 8vo. Pp. 515.

We should be glad to notice at length this learned work. It possesses great interest and value for all who are anxious to gain a perfect knowledge of the New-Testament.

Memoirs of Rev. Joseph Buckminster, D. D., and of his Son, Rev. J. S. Buckminster. By ELIZA BUCKMINSTER LEE. Second Edition. Boston: Ticknor, Reed & Fields. 1851. 12mo. Pp. 492. We are glad that this very interesting and valuable work has reached a second edition.

Memories of the Great Metropolis; or London from the Tower to the Crystal Palace. By F. SAUNDERS. New-York: G. P. Putnam. 1852. 12mo. Pp. 307. An excellent hand-book for travelers visiting London, though its literary merits entitle it to a higher rank than a mere guide-book.

The American Baptist Publication Society is continually increasing its catalogue of valuable religious works. Among the latest are the following: *Bunyan's Consoling Works*, and *Bunyan's Searching Works*, each preceded by an interesting introduction. By Rev. J. N. Brown. *The Heart Treasure; or The Furniture of a Holy Soul.* By REV. OLIVER HEYWOOD. 1666. Revised and edited by George B. Ide, D. D. Dr. Ide has written an introduction to this excellent religious book, in which he has presented an account of the life and character of Mr. Heywood, and has set forth the value of the work, as one that, from its eminent spirituality, is adapted to the wants of the present day. *Scenes in China; or Sketches of the Country, Religion and Customs of the Chinese.* By the late MRS. HENRIETTA SHUCK, Missionary in China.

A Dictionary of the German and English Languages. By G. J. ADLER, A. M., Professor of the German Language and Literature in the University of the City of New-York. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1852. 12mo. Part 1; pp. 532. Pt. 2; pp. 293. This is an abridgment of the author's larger work, a work which has come into general circulation, and is without any doubt the best German and English Dictionary extant.

ART. X.—LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

A M E R I C A N .

THE first number of a new quarterly has been published in New-York, entitled the New-York Quarterly Review. It is edited by A. G. Remington, Esq., and published by Cornish, Lampert & Co., Park Place. The leading article of the first number is on German Independence.

Messrs. Little & Brown have just published volume fourth of *Bancroft's History of the United States*. They have also nearly ready, the *Speeches, Forensic Arguments, and Diplomatic Papers* of DANIEL WEBSTER, with a notice of his Life and Works, by EDWARD EVERETT. In 6 vols. 8vo. The first three volumes are already printed. From the same press, will also soon appear, the *Speeches of Hon. R. C. Winthrop*. In 1 vol. 8vo.

Charles Scribner, New-York, has in press the following works: *Studies on the Literature and the Manners of the Anglo-Americans in the 19th century*; by Philarete Chasles, Professor in the College of France.—*Brace's Hungary in 1851; with an Experience of the Austrian Police*.—*Captains of the Roman Republic; from the 2d Punic War to the Last Civil War*; by Henry W. Herbert.

Ticknor, Reed & Fields announce as in press, *A work on Operative Surgery*, with upwards of 2,000 illustrations; by Drs. K. W. Piper, and H. J. Bigelow.—*Leigh Hunt's Complete Poetical Works*; and *Memoirs and Writings of Hartley Coleridge*.

Phillips, Sampson & Co., Boston, will soon publish *Sir James Stephen's Lectures on the History of France*, in 3 vols., with an introduction by a distinguished American scholar.

F O R E I G N .

We learn by letters from England, that Dr. William Smith is a prominent candidate for the Greek Professorship in the University of Edinburgh, made vacant by the recent decease of Professor Dunbar. The principal competitor with Dr. Smith is Professor Blackie, of Aberdeen.

Dr. Smith is still going forward with his important classical works. He is about to publish an *Illustrated Classical Manual for Youth*, with 200 wood cuts. Post 8vo.

One of the most interesting of the more recent English works is the *Life and Letters of Barthold George Niebuhr*; by the Chevalier Bunsen, and Professors Brandis and Loebel; with Essays on his Character and Influence. 2 vols. 8vo.

Other recent works are *Cicero's Orations against Verres*, forming vol. 1 of Cicero's Orations; edited by Geo. Long, Esq., M. A., late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge; being the first volume of the *Bibliotheca Classica*, edited by Geo. Long, Esq., and Rev. A. G. Maclean.—*Life and Times of Dante*, by Cesare Belpo; edited by Mrs. Bunbury; and (re-printed from American works,) *Life and Letters of Judge Story*, and *Parkman's History of the Pontiac War*. Also *Lord Palmerston's Opinions and Policy*, during more than 40 years of public life; with biographical and critical memoirs; by G. H. Francis, Esq.

Among the works announced are the *Life and Correspondence of Lord Jeffrey*, by Lord Cockburn; *Lives of the Prime Ministers of England*; *Memoirs of the Marquis of Rockingham and his Contemporaries*, by the Earl of Albemarle.

Among the recent publications in Germany, are the following: The first division of the third part (3ter Theil, 1te Abtheilung) of *Becker's Manual of Roman Antiquities*, by Joachim Marquardt, Professor in the Dantzig Gymnasium. (Prof. M. has carried on the work since Dr. Becker's death.)—*Anthology of the Greek Lyric Poets*, with Introduction and Notes, by H. W. Stoll.—*A Glossary of Homer*, Vol. I, by L. Doederlein.—*A Biography of Carl Lachmann*, by Martin Hertz.—*A Metrical Translation of Euripides' Iphigenia in Tauris*, with Notes, by I. A. Hartung.—*Catalogue of Homeric Epithets*, by Ernst Schulze.—4th edition of *Hermann's Sophocles' Ajax*.—2d edition of Dr. Hagenbach's *Lectures on the Nature and History of the Reformation*.—*A Commentary on Job*, by Dr. E. J. Magnus.—*Greek-German Dictionary of the New Testament*, by Dr. S. C. Schirlitz.

Ecclesiastical Record.

DEATHS.

Samuel Glover, Cambridge, Mass., Dec 13, aged 67. S. S. Whitman, Madison, Ia., Jan. 2. Nathan Sheffield, Ashford, Conn., aged 88.

ORDINATIONS.

R. Lockhart, Brownsville, Ohio, Oct. 31.	G. A. Ames, Stockbridge, N. Y., Dec. 30.
G. W. Bancus, Freemantown, Ill., Nov. 15.	Jesse M. Thurston, Buffalo Lake, Wis., Jan. 4.
S. L. Elliot, Wallingford, Vt., Nov. 17.	Edwin B. Eddy, Beverly, Mass., Jan. 5.
David Perry, Thomaston, Me., Nov. 19.	Jacob Timberman, Mount Bethel, N. J., Jan. 10.
William Golding, Greentown, Ind., Nov. 29.	Lauren Pearson, Addison, Me., Jan. 13.
J. P. Boyce, Columbia, S. C., Nov. 30.	Thomas B. Cooper, Savannah, Ga., Feb. 7.
John Grant, Enfield, N. Y., Dec. 2.	Alfred Harris, Marcy, N. Y., Feb. 10.
Albert Fleming, Lima, Ind., Dec. 6.	William H. Dolby, Centre Square, Ind., Feb., 28.
Orange L. Hall, Scott, Pa., Dec. 18.	O. B. Stone, Xenia, March 10.
James Pool, Grant's Creek, Ala., Dec. 21.	
Edwin T. Hunt, Orange, N. J., Dec. 25.	
Austin Norcross, Derby, Vt., Dec. 29.	
S. W. Taylor, Hallowell, Me., Dec. 30.	

CHURCHES CONSTITUTED.

San Francisco, Cal., (2d ch.) Sep. 30.
 Brownsville, Ohio, Oct. 31.
 Richland, Ill., Dec. 3.
 Churchville, N. Y., Dec. 14.
 Lafayette, Pa., Dec. 6.
 Lockport, N. Y., (2d ch.) Dec. 23.
 Greenfield, Mass.
 Washington Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y., Jan. 8.

Half Moon, Ill., Jan. 17.
 Dover, Del., Jan. 26.
 Bloomfield, N. J., Feb. 13.
 Portland, Me., (3d ch.) Feb. 18.
 New-Market, N. J., March 11.
 Hat Grove, Ill., Feb. 18.
 Marion, Mich., Feb. 26.

DEDICATIONS.

Ira, Vt., Nov. 5.
 Solebury, Pa., Dec. 3.
 Bernardston, Mass., Dec. 10.
 Plainville, Conn., Dec. 23.
 Piscataway, N. J., Dec. 31.
 Pavilion, Ill., Jan. 1.

Ashford Hollow, N. Y., Jan. 6.
 Hamilton Square, N. J., Jan. 8.
 Humphreysville, Conn., Jan. 15.
 Keeseville, N. Y., Jan. 14.
 Newark, Ill., Jan. 22.